

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Gentlemen, Mr. WHITBREAD tells us, in his Manifesto, that the Administration, of which he is so conspicuous a supporter, have not yet formed their projected schemes of reform, internal and external. Thus, it appears, that they have their schemes in agitation. Now, what is the absurd outcry raised against me? That I am a schemer. That I have dangerous schemes, which I wish to execute. Believe me, Gentlemen, and it is the sacred assurance of an honest, independent, and, I trust, virtuous man, I have no schemes; I meditate no innovations; I want nothing but the constitution of England, my beloved country; I want the whole of that constitution, and nothing but that constitution."—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S Speech at Brentford, 10th November, 1806.

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ELECTIONS.

For the reasons stated, in my last, as a preface to the account of the proceedings in the Westminster Election, I shall, in the present Number, put upon record, with as much accuracy as the case will admit of, what has since taken place with respect to several elections, particularly those of Westminster and Middlesex, beginning with the latter.

MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

The first step, taken, on any side, with respect to this election, was, the publication of the following Address to the Freeholders by Sir Francis Burdett:

Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

"Whenever the leaders of contending parties and factions in a state unite, the history of the world bears evidence, that it never is in favour, but always at the expense, of the people; whose renewed and augmented pillage pays the scandalous price of the reconciliation.—Under these circumstances you are called, prematurely and suddenly, to a fresh election of your representatives, if they can be called such. And a double imposture is attempted to be passed upon you. The watch-word of one party is, The best of Kings. The watch-word of the other is,—the best of Patriots. But neither of these parties will choose to descend to particulars, and inform you what the best of Kings and the best of Patriots have already done, or will hereafter do for you. What they have done for themselves we all know and feel; what farther they can do for us we can only conjecture. They who have desired a new parliament thus suddenly, in our present situation, undoubtedly have their own strong reasons for it, which they are not likely to disclose. But I am thoroughly persuaded, that all our present burdens and restraints, vexatious and galling as they are, will appear but as trifles when compared with what they will be at the close of this

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now-coming parliament.—I would willingly be instrumental in the rescue of my country at the certain expense of life and fortune. But it cannot be rescued, and would not deserve to be rescued, unless the majority of the country be uncorrupt. It is fit that the experiment should be tried; and that at least the proportion of remaining integrity should be known. And I pledge my honour to you, gentlemen, that, upon the present occasion, I do not desire the aid or countenance of any of the parties, in or out of power; that I will not distribute, nor consent to the distribution even of a single cockade: nor will I furnish nor consent to the furnishing of a single carriage. If the Freeholders of Middlesex feel the situation of their country, and desire to redress its grievances, they will do their easy parts towards such redress, by an uncorrupt vote. And if this spirit is not to be found in this county at this time, it is not likely to be found any where else at any time.—Let the Freeholders of Middlesex do their easy duty, I will do mine which will not be easy; and, if it shall be their unbiassed choice, I will prove myself their uncorrupt, disinterested, and zealous representative.—I am, gentlemen, with full assurance of your integrity and spirit, your most faithful humble servant, FRANCIS BURDETT."

Of the mean and shameful misrepresentations, which this address has given rise to, notice has been taken in the two preceding sheets of the Register; and, not to interrupt the narrative, the further remarks intended to be made upon these misrepresentations, will be reserved until we come to a more appropriate place for their insertion.—The Middlesex Freeholder's Club having met, on the 30th ultimo, and passed a resolution expressive of their wish, that Mr. Byng would unite with Sir Francis Burdett, in the approaching contest, Mr. Byng published a letter, which he wrote upon the

subject, to the chairman of the club, which letter, together with the consequent resolutions of the club, will be found in the preceding sheet, pages 717 and 718.—The letter of Mr. BYNG brought forth another letter from Sir Francis Burdett, addressed to the Chairman of the Freeholder's Club, in the following words:

Sir Francis Burdett's Letter to the Freeholders Club of Middlesex.

"Gentlemen,—At length Mr. Byng, who never was really with us, has ceased to temporize; and, taking advantage of your undeserved compliment to him, has declared openly against us. It was always to be expected, that such would be his conduct, whenever it should suit the views of his party.—This, gentlemen, is the short statement of our situation: the politics of George Grenville, the father, lost us America; the politics of George Grenville, the son, have lost us all Europe. To these politics, and to assist in carrying them on, the professing Whigs have lately joined themselves, to their own great emolument, and to the just dismay of the public.—In this conjecture, it is not surprising that Mr. Byng, who belongs to those Whigs, should play into the hands of Mr. Mellish, who belongs to that Grenville whom they have joined.—I am perfectly aware, that if I had been silent, I might have been returned for Middlesex without a contest; but I will have no compromise, nor suspected compromise, with such shabby politics. I will not by silence be guilty of the ruin which appears to be fast approaching.—Gentlemen, I will never consent to be returned by the connivance of any ministers: for I will never connive at their plunder. I desire no seat but by the unbiassed votes of intelligent and uncorrupt freeholders. If my principles differ from theirs, I am not fit to be their representative, and shall not desire it; but I shall wait for their decision, regardless of the intrigues, misrepresentation and influence, of the coalesced factions. I shall ever remain, gentlemen, faithful to the principles I avow, and to your honest service. FRANCIS BURDETT."

In the meanwhile, Mr. WILLIAM MELLISH had, by a meeting held in London, and called together for the purpose, been fixed upon as the successor of Mr. Mainwaring. At this meeting, which was composed, with very few exceptions, of Contractors, Jobbers, Paper-Money Makers, Place-Men, Pensioners, and Hired Writers; at this meeting, two of the leading speakers of which, were Mr. JOHN BOWLES, who, by

fair deduction at least, has most falsely represented the heir apparent as unfit to be trusted with the crown, and Mr. REDHEAD YORKE, who, during the last war, was a delegate from the Corresponding Society to the French National Convention, for which, and for acts therewith corresponding, he was, for a long time, confined in gaol, but who, like Mr. Bowles, now lives upon the taxes raised from the labour and care of the people; at this *loyal* and *disinterested* meeting, the misinterpretation of the Address of Sir Francis Burdett, the base perversion of his meaning, which had before been circulated by the voluntary individual efforts of the slaves of power, was regularly, systematically, and officially inculcated, through all the numerous channels devoted to the agents of corruption.—To these efforts Mr. SAMUEL WHITBREAD voluntarily added his, in a letter, sent by him to Sir Francis Burdett privately, and without any intimation of an intention to publish it, but which he published in the newspapers, and that, too, so short a time before the day of election as to deprive Sir Francis Burdett of an opportunity of answering it, until the time should be passed for counteracting its intended effect! This letter, which will be found in a subsequent page of this Number, was evidently written, notwithstanding the mean trick played off in the postscript; notwithstanding this most wretched Whig device, this letter was evidently penned under a week's consideration, and was kept ready to fire off at a moment when Mr. Whitbread knew, that the man, against whom it was levelled, and towards whom he still was mean enough to profess personal respect and kindness, would have no timely means of defence.—Under the effect of these most scandalous tricks; these most vile, and, in a great degree, successful attempts to persuade the public that Sir Francis Burdett stood in open hostility to "*the best of Kings*," the candidates met the Freeholders at Brentford, on the 10th instant, that being the day of nomination.—Mr. BYNG was proposed by Mr. Tufnell, who was seconded by Mr. Bacon. SIR FRANCIS BURDETT was proposed by Mr. Timothy Brown (Mr. Whitbread's partner), seconded by Mr. Holden. Mr. MELLISH was proposed by Sir William Gibbon, who, with his usual sagacity, and novelty of idea, remarked, that "an honest man was the noblest work of God," and who was seconded by Colonel Clifford.—Mr. BYNG was the first to come forward. In his looks you saw a consciousness of success, and the supercilious sneer, which he cast towards Sir Francis Burdett, plainly

told the spectators, that he anticipated the triumph, which had been prepared for him by that misrepresentation and calumny, in which he had taken as large a share as his political cowardice would permit him to take.—The speeches have been reported, with uncommon accuracy, in the Morning Herald newspaper, whence, with such little alterations as a distinct and attentive hearing authorizes me to make, I shall copy them, observing, however, that I have made no alteration in the passage taken for my motto.

“MR. BYNG.—Gentlemen, Freeholders of the County of Middlesex. Having had the honour of serving you in the three last Parliaments, *[a great deal too long, was called out from all parts]*, I come forward with the confidence of an honest servant to demand your support, *[Ob, ob! DEMAND, indeed! he feels that he is backed by the ministry]*. I mean, Gentlemen, I come forward to request your support to replace me in the same honourable and distinguished situation. I have served you with zeal and fidelity. I feel conscious that I have not in one single instance deviated from those principles *[what principles? when did you ever give proof of any principles?]* which first recommended me to your favour. Those principles have always taught me that I was sent to Parliament to serve you, the people of England, and not myself. *[No, nor your party neither.]* Those principles have taught me to be an uniform opposer of corruption. Those principles will ever teach me to oppose every abuse, and to support the best of Kings. *[Cant, cant! base misrepresentation!]* Gentlemen, during the whole of my canvass, I have uniformly declared to every Freeholder I have had the pleasure of meeting, that I stood alone, unconnected with any other candidate, because I felt that I could be responsible only to you for every part of my conduct, and for my own language, but not for the conduct or language of any other candidate. *[Cant! cant! misrepresentation.]* Gentlemen, it has been said that I have played the game of Mr. Mellish. I beg leave explicitly to declare, that I have rendered Mr. Mellish no service. *[Nor any body else, I dare say, exclaimed a Freeholder.]* Gentlemen, if I am to point out the man who has rendered Mr. Mellish the greatest service, it is the Hon. Bart. Sir Francis Burdett. It has been the avowal of his principles, from which I dissent, that has brought forward a decided and marked

opposition to his election. Gentlemen, having said thus much, I beg leave again to repeat to you that I stand alone, unconnected with any other candidate. I will either stand or fall by my own principles. *[You'll fall then!]* I wish, Gentlemen, in the present arduous crisis to lend my aid and assistance to the present Government; but I beg leave to state, that I shall not be guided in my parliamentary conduct by any private affection for their persons. Their public conduct alone will determine me, and I shall not be guided by any motive of interest or ambition, but by a motive as powerful, I mean an extreme share of vanity to—*[No! professing Whig! No! peerage hunting Whig! Where is the parliamentary reform you promised us? and where are all the pledges of the Whig Club? Off! off!]* No Byng! No Byng! Gentlemen, I beg leave to state, that whenever the question of a Parliamentary Reform is brought forward, consistently with the principles of our Constitution—*[Another burst of indignation drowned the sound of his over strained voice, and he retired under a loud and general cry of, no Byng! no professing Whig! no Turn-coat! His reception, was full as mortifying as Mr. Sheridan's had been at Covent Garden.]*

“SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.—Gentlemen, Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, I shall state to you, as shortly as I can upon this occasion, and with the same plainness and sincerity upon every occasion, as I think myself bound to do when called upon by the public, my sentiments with regard to the state of politics and party in this country. Mr Byng has told you that he offers himself to your notice on those principles which first recommended him to it. It would have been well if Mr. Byng had stated to you what those principles were. *[Great applause.]* Where are we to look for them? Who knows what are the principles of Mr. Byng? Do any of you? *[No, no, no!]* Gentlemen, I am neither surprised or displeased at the conduct of Mr. Byng on this day, but quite the contrary. It is not inconsistent with the conduct he has all along professed. You know that Mr. Byng is a SUMMER INSECT, and LOVES THE SUN.—*[A general burst of applause.]* But I must allow that if Mr. Byng has not stated his principles on this, any more than on any former occasion, he has stated his pretensions to your support with a degree of modesty which I suppose you will hardly think entitled

" him to it. For he calls for your support
 " —on what grounds? That you have re-
 " turned him three times to Parliament,
 " and that he never voted against you.
 " What! are members ever returned to
 " Parliament to vote against their constitu-
 " ents? Have we arrived at such a pitch
 " of debasement that for a man not to have
 " betrayed his constituents, is to be put
 " forth as a claim to the approbation of the
 " Freeholders of the County of Middlesex?
 " It would be easy to shew, that, if Mr.
 " Byng has not incurred the sin of *commis-*
 " *sion*, he has at least incurred the sin of
 " *omission*, which is perhaps not less prej-
 " udicial to the public than the other. Where
 " was Mr. Byng when the question was
 " brought forward relative to the abuses in
 " the Cold-bath-fields prison? Does that or
 " not interest the Electors of the County of
 " Middlesex? Are they not at the expense
 " of maintaining it? Have not they suffer-
 " ed, and do they not still suffer, for the in-
 " famous practices which, to the eternal
 " disgrace of the county, were and are
 " permitted to take place within its dreary
 " walls? [*It was never proved—its a stale*
 " *story*] Freeholders, a Gentleman among
 " the crowd says that the old stale story
 " of the Bastille is going forward; I am
 " sorry it is; I have endeavoured to pre-
 " vent it, but Mr. Byng has not. [*Plaudits.*]
 " Now, Gentlemen, permit me to ask you
 " whether this great and principal claim
 " to the confidence of the County of Mid-
 " dlesex has not been recently put forward
 " by one of the courtly band to which Mr.
 " Byng belongs? I ask you whether it has
 " not been stated by Mr. Sheridan, as the
 " ground of that support he expects from
 " the Electors of Westminster, *that he alone*
 " *stood forward and supported me upon the*
 " *question of the Cold-bath-fields prison?*
 " Can these Gentlemen, who attempt to
 " interrupt me, think to bear me down by
 " saying that no abuses existed, that they
 " do not now exist, and that I have
 " merely sought, by raising a clamour
 " and exciting the popular feeling, to bring
 " myself in for the County of Middlesex?
 " It is, Gentlemen, now plain and appa-
 " rent, and happy I am to have this oppor-
 " tunity of proving what I at first asserted.
 " (*It is untrue, exclaimed a person upon the*
 " *Hustings.*) The Gentleman behind me de-
 " nies the truth, even before he has heard it.
 " I was going to state, that you have had in
 " my present conduct a convincing proof,
 " that my object had been personal—if
 " I had been ambitious of the honour
 " of representing the County of Middlesex,



" County of Middlesex, I might easily have
 " been so—nay, that I might have been
 " brought in without any opposition. [*No,*
 " *no! you could not, said several!*] It has
 " been stated as the opinion of Mr. Byng,
 " that I have performed the greatest possi-
 " ble service for Mr. Mellish. If I have, I
 " declare solemnly I have no objection to
 " it. Gentlemen, let the consequence be
 " what it may, neither a seat in Parliament
 " for the County of Middlesex, nor any
 " thing else in the power of Government
 " to bestow, shall ever make me desert
 " those principles which I am thoroughly
 " convinced must ultimately prove the sole
 " means of the salvation of the coun-
 " try. [*Loud plaudits were re-echoed on*
 " *all sides.*]—Freeholders of the Coun-
 " ty, I have besides another confirma-
 " tion of what some of the Gentlemen
 " around me think proper to deny, I have
 " the official declaration, for so I must call
 " the letter of Mr. Whitbread, the brother-
 " in-law of Lord Howick, one of his Ma-
 " jesty's principal secretaries of state, a man
 " whom I think I may now venture to de-
 " nominate the head of that band of patriots
 " to which Mr. Byng belongs, I have it
 " from him, that he had no doubt I should
 " be brought in for the county. But, Gen-
 " tlemen, I thought it my duty to disdain
 " ministerial support; I still think it so, and
 " I do not repent my determination, for I
 " look to no other object but to speak the
 " truth, whenever the public interest calls
 " upon me, [*incessant plaudits*]. Gentle-
 " men, the letter of Mr. Whitbread, I con-
 " fess I at first thought a handsome mode of
 " proceeding towards me, and I wrote to
 " him to thank him for justifying his con-
 " duct in declining to support my cause. I
 " was obliged to him, because I felt that,
 " if he did not approve of my principles, I
 " did not want his support, nor would I
 " have accepted it.—[*Bravo! bravo!*]—
 " Now, Gentlemen, since I have seen that
 " letter, which I considered a personal jus-
 " tification to me, published to the world,
 " I must look at it in a very different point
 " of view; I consider it as the official de-
 " claration of the late patriot, but present
 " minister, against me, and I regret to say,
 " I think it altogether unworthy of the
 " quarter from whence it came. But I trust
 " I shall, when I have somewhat more
 " leisure, state at large my opinion of that
 " extraordinary publication, and of all the
 " matters it contains. I flatter myself I
 " shall expose its sophistry, and prove, even
 " to demonstration, that it is as utterly des-
 " titute of historical truth as it is of consti-

" tutional principles. [*Loud and unanimous*
 " *applause.*] Gentlemen, Mr. Whitbread
 " tells us that the administration, of which
 " he is so conspicuous a supporter, have not
 " yet formed their projected schemes of
 " reform, internal and external. Thus
 " it appears they have schemes in agitation.
 " Now, what is the absurd outcry raised
 " against me? That I am a schemer. That I
 " have schemes which I wish to execute.
 " Believe me, Gentlemen, and it is the
 " sacred assurance of an honest, independ-
 " ent, and, I trust, virtuous man, I have
 " no schemes; I meditate no innovation;
 " I want nothing but the constitution of
 " England, my beloved country; I want
 " the whole of that constitution, and nothing
 " but that constitution. [*Universal plau-*
 " *dits.*] We have the good fortune to live
 " in a country, which is pre-eminent over
 " the rest of the world. That we have so
 " invaluable an inheritance is to be attributed
 " to our having a constitution traced out
 " originally for ourselves. To preserve it
 " inviolable, we have only to take care not
 " to abandon it on the principles which
 " form its basis. But I maintain, that our
 " boasted constitution is an incongruity if
 " the people have not their fair representa-
 " tion in Parliament. [*Acclamations and*
 " *shouts of approbation.*] It is asked, what
 " do I complain of in the conduct of the
 " coalesced parties? Would I have no
 " minister? Is the office of a minister a
 " disqualification which precludes his repre-
 " senting an uncorrupt people? Gentle-
 " men, I have said no such thing; but I do
 " object to a minister representing a free
 " and independent city or county. The
 " question is not whether ministers should
 " be in Parliament, but whether the Parlia-
 " ment should be composed entirely of court
 " pensioners and placemen? If these men
 " will accept of places and offices under the
 " crown, let them not shew themselves
 " upon those hustings, from whence the
 " people look to be represented by men as
 " independent as themselves. [*Bursts of*
 " *applause.*] Let them go to court bo-
 " roughs; let them not throw every other
 " man out of some share of that representa-
 " tion which still remains uncorrupt. Gen-
 " tlemen, there is another objection to this
 " coalition administration. They say, they
 " have not yet matured their schemes.—
 " True; but though they have done nothing
 " for the public, they have done something
 " for themselves. They have matured their
 " own pensions, ministerial offices, and
 " sinecure places. — [*Excessive plaudits.*]
 " They have matured all their objects of

" party; but they say they have not ma-
 " tured any thing for the public. I will tell
 " you one thing they have done—they have
 " assigned a magnificent palace at the end
 " of Catherine-street to the Manager of
 " Drury-lane Theatre; they have given him
 " no small share of the public money, and
 " for what services the Devil only knows!
 " [*A mixture of excessive laughter and ap-*
 " *plause.*] Gentlemen, in the short period
 " of time since this band of patriots have
 " coalesced, they have reduced the country,
 " internally and externally to a more peri-
 " cular situation even than they found
 " it. Yet they have the barefaced imp-
 " dence to tell you that they have not ma-
 " tured their schemes.—What do I com-
 " plain of?—They allow they have per-
 " formed no services; but they have taken
 " the reward of services [*Hear! Hear!*
 " *Hear! General acclamations*].—I say that
 " they should not take the reward, unless
 " the service goes hand in hand with it—
 " [*True, exclaimed many voices.*] These,
 " gentlemen, are my principles. They are
 " applicable to all governments, for the
 " same abuses must be inimical to every
 " government, let their forms be what
 " they may. These, of whom I have been
 " speaking, are the best friends any of
 " our enemies can have; for if they wan-
 " tonly dissipate the resources of the coun-
 " try, how are those resources to be found
 " when they are wanted for its defence?
 " [*Intermittent applause*] Gentlemen, I ob-
 " serve, that Mr. Whitbread, in his mani-
 " festo, has not followed the same prin-
 " ciples and motives in his public capacity
 " which actuate his private conduct. I
 " find nothing of the kind in his letter to
 " me. What does he do in his private
 " concerns? He never pays his men till
 " they have performed their labour. He
 " sees the beer they brew before he gives
 " them the reward for brewing it. I be-
 " lieve he rewards them liberally, but
 " never till they have done their duty.—
 " With respect to Mr. Byng and his prin-
 " ciples I can say nothing, because it is a
 " secret to me what they are. If I could
 " find them out, and they appeared to me
 " to be likely to be of the least benefit to
 " the public, I should be the first man to
 " withdraw and give Mr. Byng my vote.
 " [*You have not got a vote, exclaimed Mr. Byng*]
 " Mr. Byng does not believe I have got a
 " vote—he is mistaken—he would find I
 " have one. Now, gentlemen, what is it
 " that has called down on my head the
 " coalesced powers of the coalescing par-
 " ties? What is it but my doing my duty

“ to you, and not conniving at what I con-
 “ sider their mal-practices. (*Loud plau-*
 “ *dis.*) Gentlemen, I never will connive
 “ at them. I care not for a seat in par-
 “ liament if it is so to be obtained. Gen-
 “ tlemen, when I am before the pub-
 “ lic I will do my duty, but I will have
 “ no connivance with ministers. I will
 “ never consent to share in their guilt,
 “ or their plunder. [*Long and repeat-*
 “ *ed applause followed this speech, in which*
 “ *applause no small part of Mr. Mel-*
 “ *lish's friends joined; and they clearly ap-*
 “ *peared to prefer Sir Francis Burdett to*
 “ *Mr. Byng.*]

“ Mr. Mellish.—Gentlemen, freeholders
 “ of this county, I crave your silence for a few
 “ moments. I shall not make near as long a
 “ speech as the hon. baronet. I am con-
 “ vinced you will hear what I have to say,
 “ because the hon. baronet's speech is ra-
 “ ther a personal attack on my conduct,
 “ which I am sure you will think I ought
 “ to clear up. In my address to you, I have
 “ told you the manner in which I came for-
 “ ward to offer myself as one of your re-
 “ presentatives. My opinion remains the
 “ same as it was, in direct opposition to
 “ the hon. baronet. I have been accused
 “ of joining Mr. Byng. Now I assure you
 “ I have not joined any body. I have nei-
 “ ther joined Sir F. Burdett or Mr. Byng.
 “ I have been told by Mr. Byng, that Sir
 “ F. Burdett has done me all the good he
 “ could. This the hon. baronet does not
 “ deny; but I am not to be so lulled as to
 “ conceive that the honourable baronet can
 “ have that affection for me and my cause
 “ as is pretended. I have been, I do not
 “ mean personally, but with regard to his
 “ political principles, one of the greatest
 “ enemies he ever had. [*No, no, no! You*
 “ *are unable to be his enemy! He never heard*
 “ *of you in his life, till within this week!*]
 “ I am proud to think differently from him.
 “ It is impossible I can conceal that some
 “ of Sir Francis Burdett's friends have pro-
 “ mised to vote for me. Now, gentlemen,
 “ Mr. Byng having told you that I have
 “ not joined him, there can be no doubt as
 “ to the fact. I declare I have not joined
 “ him; I have not joined the honourable
 “ baronet. If I am not stating what is
 “ true, he is here to contradict me. I make
 “ no professions; I do not say that I will
 “ support this or that government. [*What!*
 “ *are there MANY governments, then? Who*
 “ *did you learn that of?*] I will support
 “ the measures, but not the men. I come
 “ forward, I hope, as an honest and inde-
 “ pendent man. If you catch me tripping,

“ should I be the successful candidate, you
 “ will have the means of punishment in
 “ your power. To be sure, it will be a
 “ few years hence. Was I not confident I
 “ should do my duty, I would not think of
 “ coming forward to disgrace myself and
 “ you. I come forward to preserve the
 “ best of kings; [*No cant! no shameful*
 “ *cant! no hypocrite! you preserve the king*
 “ *indeed! a bank director preserve the*
 “ *king!*] We all know what he has done
 “ —we know his amiable qualities, and it
 “ would be unbecoming to attempt to de-
 “ scribe them. I come forward to preserve
 “ the constitution, in the words of the
 “ honourable baronet, the whole constitu-
 “ tion—I come forward to preserve the
 “ country, because I love it. [*Well you*
 “ *may! you fatten upon it! But why don't*
 “ *you pay your Bank of England notes in*
 “ *cash?*] There is one thing more I wish
 “ to mention—I think it was wrong to
 “ bring forward the Bastille. It was infam-
 “ ous and disgraceful to bring it forward
 “ during the two last elections. Gentle-
 “ men, to assume the ability to find words
 “ to express my feelings for having been
 “ nominated, would be an insult to your
 “ understandings. I have lived all my life in
 “ the county? [*and what good have you done*
 “ *in it?*] I have lived on my own estate.
 “ —I hope the freeholders of the county
 “ know my character, and are convinced
 “ that I am both honest and independent.”

The three candidates were then separately
 put in nomination by the sheriff. *The*
show of hands was decidedly in favour of Sir
Francis Burdett, Bart. and Mr. Mellish, and
 the sheriff accordingly declared the same.—
 A poll was immediately demanded on behalf
 of Mr. Byng.

Thus was this Whig, like the fallen
 Whig at Covent Garden, obliged to have
 recourse to a poll; obliged to appeal from
 the unbiased voice of the people to the
 voice of private interest and of the influence
 of the ministry of the day! Of the effect of
 Sir Francis Burdett's speech, of the feelings
 which it inspired, of the admiration with
 which it was received, it would be impossi-
 ble to convey an adequate idea, especially to
 those who have not had an opportunity of
 hearing him speak. I remember hearing
 him, from the same hustings, in 1802, and
 the opinion I then formed, and expressed
 (to a member of the present ministry), was,
 “ *that man is able to do more harm, or more*
 “ *good, than any other man in this kingdom.*”
 This opinion further observation has fully
 confirmed, and has, at the same time, re-
 moved from my mind all doubt as to the

views of Sir Francis Burdett, as well as to the tendency of his endeavours, which, I am certain, as far as the nature of the case will admit of certainty, are decidedly favourable to the maintenance of the constitution of England, as by law established. —I have been charged with *tergiversation* as to this point; but, in order to make this charge good, it must be shewn, that I have *abandoned some principle*, and that, too, not from conviction of its erroneousness, but from some improper motive; and, to shew this, is, I am persuaded, impossible. —A passage has been quoted, from the Register of 1802, wherein I severely reproached Sir Francis Burdett for having in one of his addresses to the freeholders, made use of the phrase, "*hired Magistrates, Parliament, and Kings*;" a phrase highly improper, in my opinion, both *then* and *now*; though I shall not maintain, that, in my comments upon it, I was entirely uninfluenced by that strong prejudice, which had been created in my mind, with regard to his motives; to which must be added, that the situation of England and of Europe, with respect to political doctrines, was, at that time, very different from what it is now, when all the terros of democracy are turned into errors of universal despotism. —But, it should not be forgotten, that, in 1802, I had been but about eighteen months in England, after a long war, carried on with great zeal, against republicans in a foreign country, where, let it be observed, every republican was a sworn enemy, not only of the king of England, but of England itself. Upon my return to England, I naturally fell into a literary acquaintance, consisting entirely of men who were the political enemies of Sir Francis Burdett. Several of these had corresponded with me while I was in America; and, it was not until long after my return to England, that I found, to my utter astonishment, that *every one of them*, received, and had long been receiving, in one shape or another, considerable sums of money annually from the government; that is to say, out of the taxes raised upon the people. Amidst such a circle of acquaintance it was not likely, that, with all my independence of mind, and with as strong an inclination, as falls to the lot of any writer, to speak the truth upon every subject; amidst such a circle it was not likely that I should very soon arrive at the truth; and, from the acquaintances alluded to, I imbibed what was, I dare say, their sincere opinion, that Sir Francis Burdett, in his representations with respect to the solitary prison in Cold Bath Fields, was actuated by

no other motive than that of regard for the *Mutineers*, who were, or had been, confined there, and that that regard was founded on an approbation of their treasonable designs. —Thus thinking, it is not at all surprizing, that, as far as I was able, I opposed him in his *first* contest for Middlesex. During the *second* contest I made no observations, on one side or the other; and, the reasons were these: *FIRST*, in no part of his parliamentary conduct had I seen any thing to censure, but in many parts of it much to commend; *SECOND*, that a most foul misrepresentation of his speech upon the county address, relative to the present war, had excited in my mind a great degree of indignation against his enemies; *THIRD*, that I had had time to perceive, that the most bitter of his enemies, not excepting my own acquaintances above alluded to, were, to a man, placemen or pensioners, or both at once, and that the far better half of their *loyalty*, was, in fact, a love of the public money; but, a *FOURTH* reason, and a reason more powerful than all the rest put together, was, that I had, by this time, learnt from the lips of Mr. REEVES, that shocking abuses had really existed in the Solitary Prison, and that he himself had, as was stated in the Register of September 1803, been the first to complain thereof, in his capacity of magistrate. The subject of Mr. Reeves's complaint was the treatment of Despard, who was then confined in the prison; and, the description which he gave me of that treatment, though he seemed to think that Sir Francis Burdett's complaints were not founded, convinced me that those complaints were not, without further inquiry, to be treated as groundless. —With these impressions upon my mind it was, that I made, with regard to the second Middlesex election, and after the contest was over, those remarks which will be found in Volume IV. of the Register; and which remarks, had Sir Francis Burdett been a hunter after popularity, would very soon have produced a personal acquaintance between us. But, the fact is, that no communication of any kind, either direct or indirect, ever took place between him and me, until some time, I believe, in the month of March last, when we first met from causes purely accidental; though I must confess, that an unsolicited meeting had long been wished for on my part. —I have before expressed, in general terms, my opinion, and, indeed, my thorough conviction, that, in the whole kingdom, there is not a man more attached to the kingly government and the whole of the constitution of England

than Sir Francis Burdett. But, I must now beg leave to state, somewhat in detail, the information which, upon the subject of the Solitary Prison, the honorable baronet has had the condescension to furnish me with, and which, had I been furnished with it previous to 1802, would have made me his eulogist at that time.—The English newspapers which reached me in America, and the representations made to me upon my return to England, exhibited Sir Francis Burdett as a person, who, from mere love of the conduct of the *Mutineers*, officiously visited them in their cells. But the fact, though so studiously concealed by all the newspapers, was, that Sir Francis Burdett was led to that prison by a letter, received from some of the prisoners. This letter, from the circumstance of the prisoners being deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper, was written upon the leaf of a book, if I recollect right, with a splinter of wood, and in the blood of the miserable captives, who, in terms indicative of despair, supplicated him to save them from the pangs of death produced by hunger and thirst; and, need I ask the reader, whether it was the bounden duty of an Englishman, particularly of a member of parliament, to lend his ear to the supplication, and to endeavour to procure redress? No matter *who* or *what* the suffering prisoners were. They were in an English prison, and they were there *without a trial*, too. Not to have attended to their call would have argued a heart destitute of justice as well as of mercy.—Sir Francis Burdett, upon visiting the unhappy creatures, found them, he says, mere frames of men, their minds, apparently, as much impaired as their bodies. This led him on to a general inquiry and examination; and, though, in the heat of description, he may, probably, in some few instances, have surpassed the bounds of the fact, I am sincerely persuaded, that, in every case, the representations made by him were substantially true; and this persuasion must, in the mind of every candid man, be greatly strengthened by the well-known fact, that, upon the subject of these his representations, he never could obtain an open discussion in the House of Commons; all his endeavours in that way being defeated by a motion for the *previous question*, or by some such device. One occurrence of this sort is worthy of particular notice. Sir Francis Burdett, upon making a speech relative to the abuses in the prison, was answered by SIR WILLIAM ELFORD, that he himself had been, that day, to visit the prison, and that, with some little ex-

cusable exceptions, the conduct of the jailor had been highly commendable; upon which ground he concluded with making a motion, that the jailor should be called to the bar to defend his character against the charges of the Honourable Baronet. "I second that motion," said Sir Francis Burdett; "for, though it is quite a novel proceeding to call in a man, under similar circumstances, to deny the statements of a member of this house, yet, so long have I endeavoured in vain to bring this matter under discussion, in some shape or other; so clear am I as to the truth of all my statements, and so confident do I feel, that this truth will be made manifest to the House by any mode of examination; whatever it may be, that I cheerfully concur in the proposition now made." Some member from the Treasury Bench, having, by this time, received his cue from the minister, recommended to Sir William Elford to *withdraw* his motion; whereupon he begged leave to withdraw it. But, as this could not be done without the *consent of a seconder*, and as Sir Francis Burdett would not give this consent, the House divided; the NOES went out, leaving Sir Francis alone, Sir William Elford *voting against his own motion*!—No comment is necessary; and I shall only add, upon this part of my subject, that, if the doors of the House had not been closed at the time here referred to, and if the daily newspapers had not then been, as they now are, in possession of the most uncandid and venal of men, neither I, nor any other well-meaning man, would ever have been found amongst the political enemies of Sir Francis Burdett.—Such, reader, are the causes of my change of opinion with regard to the motives of this gentleman, calumniated more than any other man that ever lived, but yet enjoying popularity unparalleled; the mention of which latter circumstance brings me back to the scene now before us, and reminds me of the necessity of observing, that the daily newspapers, the whole of which have so carefully concealed the fact of Mr. Paull's being, at the close of every day's poll, *drawn home to his house, in triumph, by the people*, have, with equal care, concealed the fact, that Sir Francis Burdett was the *only guest that was so conducted to the Lord Mayor's Feast, on the 9th instant*. This popularity, which is by no means confined to the rabble, but which extends itself amongst all those who compose that mass which is denominated *the people*; this popularity, which will be increased, rather than diminished, by the effects of ministerial fear

and rancour; this popularity I am anxious to see employed in *preserving*, and not in *destroying*; and, for this reason, amongst many others, it is that I have deprecated, and do still deprecate, all attempts to inculcate the notion, that Sir Francis Burdett is an enemy to the King and the Constitution; a notion, which, to whatever extent it may reach, cannot fail to give a mischievous direction to the minds of the people. Union; the cordial union of all men in defence of their country against the obviously meditated attacks of a most formidable enemy; this union is constantly represented as the only means of preserving our independence as a nation. "Let us be but *united*, hand and heart, and we may still set the threatening conqueror at defiance." But, is it likely that this union will be secured by setting up the false and calumnious accusation of disloyalty against a gentleman, who, amongst the really efficient part of the people, possesses more influence, and will, in spite of all that can be said or done, possess more influence, than all the other public men in the kingdom put together? No matter what name place-men and pensioners and peculators may give him; for, that name, be it what it may, the independent part of the people will take to themselves; and, if his calumniators were to succeed in producing a general persuasion, that his views are really hostile to the kingly government, they would, thereby, gradually prepare the minds of the people for revolutionary measures. I may be deceived in my views of this matter; but, such is my sincere opinion, and such are the reasons which have, from the beginning of the present war, induced me to inculcate, to the utmost of my power, the necessity of obtaining from all those accusations, the tendency of which evidently was, not only to cause the enemy to believe that we were a *divided people*, but, in reality, to make us a divided people.—The phrase, in Sir Francis Burdett's first Address, "*the best of kings*," together with the context, conveys no meaning hostile to the present king, or to the kingly government of England. There is nothing in that Address, which any candid and sensible man can, in his heart, disapprove of; and, though we may excuse such men as Mr. BOWLES and Mr. REDHEAD YORKE, and such a man as Mr. MELLISH, for setting up an out-cry against it; though these persons may be excused, what excuse can be found for the Sheridans and the Whitbreads and the Peter Moores, who, for the last seventeen years, have been maintaining the right

of "*cashiering kings*" at pleasure, and who have, in their orgies, toasted "*their Sovereign, the Majesty of the People*;" what excuse can be found for such men as these joining in the criticising calumny, and endeavouring to excite a hatred against a gentleman, whom they well knew to be more, aye much more, loyal than themselves, but whom they mortally hate, only because he will not connive at their selfish conduct, which he, and in my opinion justly, regards as the most fertile source of public danger? They must be sensible that their calumnies will tend to divide the people; to excite, in the breasts of a great portion of those men, who may be termed the nerves of the state, feelings of disgust, of hatred towards the calumniators, and of indifference, at least, with respect to the fate of a government, from the officers of which they may imagine that they have nothing but accusation and calumny to expect; they must be sensible of all this, and they must see, that, in the same degree that they succeed in overruling, by their mis-representation and their influence, the unbiassed voice of the people, the hearts of that people will be alienated from the order of things whence that influence flows; but, alas! they seem, in pursuit of present private advantage, to disregard all future public consequences.—Am I told, that the fault "*is Sir Francis Burdett's*?" That *he has made the first attack*?" I answer, that every man has a right to criticise the conduct of every officer receiving the public money. This right, in the moral as well as in the legal sense of the word, has always been admitted, even by the most arbitrary of ministers, allowing, at the same time, that the right of all such officers (and have they not *means enough*!) to defend themselves is equally undoubted. But, they have no right, by way of defence, to reproach their assailants with *disloyalty*. This mode of proceeding was pursued by the Addingtons. All those who disapproved of their measures; all those who expressed disgust at their insatiable love of place and emolument; all those who exposed their grasping, were, for want of arguments wherewith to furnish a defence, accused of *disaffection to the government*, and were, more than once, denominated *Jacobins*! But, this is a fraud, which, though it may succeed for a time with a certain portion of the people, must, in the end, prove, as it did in the case just referred to, ruinous to those who resort to it.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

The account of the first day's proceedings

was given, with great fidelity, in the preceding sheet.—The 11th day has now closed, and has exhibited to the city proofs of as hard a contest as ever it witnessed since it has had the privilege of choosing members of parliament.—A detailed account of each day's proceedings will be inserted hereafter. At present we must be content with noticing some of those, which characterize the principles and motives of the parties most deeply concerned.—After the dreadful hissings, groanings, and reproaches of Monday, previous to the opening of the poll; and especially after the shew of hands *within the hustings* had appeared so decidedly against Mr. SHERIDAN, there appears to have been much difficulty, amongst his friends, in bringing him to rally. During the whole of last week, and for several days at the beginning of this week, he did not appear on the hustings. Mr. Peter Moore, who was his champion on the first day, and who has long been *soliciting a place*, also kept away. A Mr. BRITTON, who, it is said, wants to be a *baronet*, and Mr. WHITBREAD, came, for several days, to speak in Mr. Sheridan's behalf, at the close of the poll; but, though their speeches are reported in the news-papers, and though no notice is there taken of the feelings expressed by the people, the fact is, that these auxiliaries have, like their principal, been received with every mark of disapprobation, not to say contempt. Mr. Britton is a person little known to the public; but, against Mr. Whitbread, there has uniformly been a loud and general cry of "*no Turncoat Whig*," with other exclamations expressive of the sentiments, which, amongst a decided majority of the people, that gentleman's recent conduct has excited, and particularly that part of his conduct which relates to Sir Francis Burdett. Upon one occasion, Mr. Whitbread, unable to soften the reproaches poured forth against him, descended so low as to put forth *his merits as exhibited in the prosecution of Lord Melville*; but this completely failed, the people crying out, "*party pique! party pique! no public motive, as your conduct since has clearly proved!*"—After the fourth day's poll, it became clear, that Mr. Sheridan, if left to himself, would be compelled, in a short time to give up the contest, and therefore a *Coalition* was formed between Sir Samuel Hood and him; a joint committee was appointed; and all the wheels of influence, of every description, were instantly set to work. The voters, who had been engaged for Sir Samuel Hood alone, were now ordered to split their votes. Yet, for

several days, the existence of the coalition *was denied*, in hand-bills under the name of Sir Samuel Hood, the object of which evidently was, to prevent the independent votes promised to him, from going over to Mr. Paull; and, it is certain, that, if Sir Samuel Hood had declared the coalition in the first day of the poll, three-fourths of his first 2,000 votes would have been given exclusively for Mr. Paull. There now appears, to me at least, to have been an understanding between Sir Samuel Hood and Mr. Sheridan from the beginning; but that, the former finding so large a portion of the virtuous and independent part of the people decidedly hostile to Mr. Sheridan, did not think it safe to risk the effect of a coalition, until that honourable source had been exhausted, and until the time came when a reliance was to be placed solely upon influence. Some persons were of opinion, that Sir Samuel Hood was extremely averse from the coalition, and was finally compelled to give into it upon pain of having the whole weight of influence thrown exclusively into the scale of Mr. Sheridan. Which of these opinions is correct will, probably, appear hereafter. But, whatever might be the cause of the coalition, the effect became instantly manifest; for, from the moment it took place, Mr. Sheridan's minority began to rise rapidly towards that majority, which it has now arrived at.—Still doubtful, however, as to the result of the contest, Mr. Sheridan's adherents neglected *no means of any sort*, in order to insure his success; and of some of these means a particular account will hereafter be given.—There has been, every other day, a *public dinner*, at which the adherents of Mr. Sheridan have assembled to concert means and to make speeches. At an early stage of the coalition, Sir Samuel Hood was represented at these dinners by some one or two of his naval friends; but grown hardy by degrees, the knight himself has, at last, not been ashamed to attend in person, and to interchange compliments with his worthy coadjutor, whom, as the sole topic of eulogium, he has, upon every occasion, extolled to the skies for his conduct *during the mutiny in the fleet*; and this enlogium Mr. Sheridan has thankfully received, without appearing to reflect upon the cruel satire which it conveys on the conduct of Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Whitbread, who, it is thought, never cordially liked Mr. Sheridan after that time.—At one of these dinners Mr. Sheridan made, *if it was truly stated in the Morning Chronicle*, an assertion respecting an offer made by me, in Mr. Paull's

name, to give Mr. Sheridan Mr. Paull's second votes, provided he, Mr. Sheridan, would remain neutral with respect to Mr. Paull; than which an assertion more completely destitute of truth never was made. The speech, as reported in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 13th instant, was as follows: "Mr. Sheridan informed the meeting that he should to-morrow or Thursday, publish an offer by Mr. Paull and Mr. Cobbett to him, *if he would stand neuter, that he should have all Mr. Paull's second votes.* This he had *rejected with scorn*; but the object evidently was to give them an opportunity of blackening both candidates, and of taking his run against that one which might latterly be farthest behind."—I never was more surprized in my life than when I first saw this paragraph; no such offer having ever been made, or thought of, by me. There was a letter, indeed, from me to Mr. Sheridan, written the moment I came to town, on Sunday the 26th ultimo, and which was the only letter I had ever written to him; but, in this letter, no such proposition was made, nor any thing of the kind implied. The case was this: a common friend of Mr. Sheridan and myself, had, about ten days before, written to me at Botley, telling me, that the parliament was just about to be dissolved; informing me that Mr. Sheridan was to stand for Westminster; and, expressing a hope, that no animadversions of mine would tend to prevent his success. The answer which I instantly gave to this letter was, that I was afraid that he far over-rated the force of my animadversions, but that, if it was in my power to prevent Mr. Sheridan's success, I certainly would prevent it. Nevertheless, when I came to town, not being sure that this answer had been communicated to Mr. Sheridan, and supposing it possible that he might have been informed of the application made to me by our friend, and might, in consequence expect not to see me amongst his opponents, I thought it right to lose not a moment in apprizing him of my intentions; and, with the knowledge of Mr. Paull, I wrote him a letter, of which I kept no copy, but which was to the following effect:—"Sir, as it is a rule with me always to be fair and direct, I lose no time in informing you, that I am this moment come to town for the express purpose of rendering Mr. Paull, as a candidate for Westminster, all the aid which it is in my feeble power to render him. But, at the same time, I can take upon me to assure you, that I *know*, that if there should

"be during the contest, any *hostility* between *you* and Mr. Paull, the fault will be that of you, or your friends." This last sentence was written at the suggestion of a third gentleman present, who had expressed a wish, that no foul *personalities* should take place.—With this statement before him, the reader will, I am sure, participate with me in the feelings excited by the speech ascribed to Mr. Sheridan. But, this is not all. Mr. Sheridan is represented as having said, that "he *REJECTED the offer with SCORN.*" Luckily, I have a copy of his answer to my letter, which answer was in the following words:—"Monday Evening, 8 o'clock.—Sir,—On my return to town this evening, I received your Note, which gave me the first intimation of Mr. Paull's intention to stand for Westminster. I admit your motives in making the communication to be *as frank and direct* as you profess them to be, and I thank you for your attention in having made it."—Now, if this was what he looked upon as a "*rejection*" of our "*offer*," as he is said to have called it, the reader will, I think, agree, that it was not a very "*scornful*" rejection. But, the truth is, that he looked upon it as no *offer* at all. I was satisfied, that he could not; and, therefore, the moment I saw the report of his speech in the *Morning Chronicle* before-mentioned, I wrote him the following letter:—"Sir,—Having seen, in the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, a paragraph, purporting to be the report of a speech made by you at Willis's Rooms, last night, in which paragraph it is stated, that an offer was made by me to you, '*to give you Mr. Paull's second votes, if you would stand neuter*;' and, knowing, as I do, that this statement is grossly and scandalously false, I cannot, of course, believe that you made it, but must regard it as a trick of the candid and independent Mr. Perry. As this statement may, however, be believed by the few readers which the *Morning Chronicle* has left, I request you to deny the statement through the channel of that print; or, which will have the same effect, to publish my letter, upon which the statement is said to have been founded. I can have no doubt of your complying with this request; but, should you not do it, justice to Mr. Paull and to the cause of the free and independent electors of Westminster, striving against the oppressive influence of coalesced factions, will compel me to treat you as the author of the falsehood.—With a very sincere wish that

"I may not be thus compelled, I remain, sir, your most humble and obedient servant." — To this letter, I received, at midnight, the following answer from Mr. Sheridan: "Sir,—The bustle of an election-day, and occupations fitter for me to attend to, than to any communication from you have prevented my noticing the letter you have favoured me with, till this moment. I am very much amused by the folly of it, and very little provoked by its insolence. I shall not, however, be deficient in gentlemanly respect to the call of any man, and you will receive from me TO-MORROW, such an answer as I shall judge proper to give to such a letter." — "I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant." — The "*morrow*" came; but, it brought no answer from Mr. Sheridan, either written or in print, though it was now *Thursday*, the latest day fixed on, in his speech, for publishing the letter on which the reported statement was said to be founded. When, therefore, he ventured to shew himself upon the *Hustings* in the evening of that day, and as soon as the hisses and groans, which his presence had drawn forth from the people, were a little subsided, I went up to him, and in the presence of Mr. Berkeley Craven and others, narrated in substance what I have here submitted to the reader, concluding with these words, "Now, Sir, let me beg of you to give me a direct answer, whether you did, or did not, make the assertion which the *Morning Chronicle* has ascribed to you." — His answer was, I am really sorry to say it, a miserable subterfuge; procrastinating evasion; nay, a downright shuffle. "I will not," said he, "have an answer extorted from me. I will not be catechised. I will not make myself responsible for any thing published in a news-paper as a speech of mine." In short, all I could get from him was, that "an answer should appear in print to-morrow;" that is to-day. But the "*morrow*" is again come; and now it is Friday night; and no answer has appeared, though in all the daily prints, a paragraph has been published, intimating, that the answer will appear "to-morrow!" That is, when he knows, that the *Register* is gone to the press, and when I shall, for another week, be deprived of the means of contradicting any statement that he may think proper to make; because he well knows, that, while the daily prints are all open to him cost free, they are all shut against me, except at an enormous expense; Mr. Perry, of the *Morning Chronicle*, having charged Mr. Paull no less than eight guineas for his

last advertisement! — Does there, then, require any thing further as an exposure of Mr. Sheridan? Yes: one fact more; and that is this; that he made, on the day of his coalition with Sir Samuel Hood; on that very day he made, through Mr. RODWELL, one of the principal persons of his Committee, a proposal to Mr. Paull to give him, Mr. Sheridan, his second votes, as the certain means of throwing out Sir Samuel Hood! This fact I, at the time before-mentioned, reminded Mr. Sheridan of, to his face, upon the *Hustings*; and, the only answer he could give was; "I am not responsible for any thing that Mr. Rodwell has done." — Much, however, as I dislike Mr. Sheridan as a member for Westminster, my dislike to the Commodore has always been, and still is greater. This latter I regard as a mere ministerial creature. I disliked him on that account from the first; and the seeing of his wounded arm projected out to the people, while his great coat is studiously turned back to expose his star and tawdry ribbons, has by no means tended to lessen that dislike. Constantly, therefore, have I said, and I still say, that of the two, give me the man of talents, who is able, and may, possibly, become willing, to render the country some service in parliament. Besides, ill as Mr. Sheridan has behaved of late, and now towards myself, I have seen him receive, in the loud and unanimous reproaches of the people, a punishment far beyond the measure of any revenge that my heart is capable of entertaining. — Here I must stop. The account shall be continued in my next.

MR. WHITBREAD'S LETTER TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

Dear Sir,—I have received a circular letter bearing your signature, and accompanied by an address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, upon the grounds contained in which alone, you ask my support at the present election for that county.—I am sorry to tell you, that, upon those grounds, I feel it impossible to comply with your request.—Having twice had the honour to poll for you at Brentford; having anticipated the pleasure of seeing you re-elected without opposition, or of using my utmost exertions in your favour, and having a great personal respect for you, I cannot conceal the mortification I feel in being compelled to adopt this line of conduct; nor can I refrain from pointing out to you some of those passages of the address, which make it incumbent on me to withhold the support I have hitherto been happy to afford you.—You assume, that two parties in the state have joined, not for the pur-

pose of bettering the condition of the people, but with a base and scandalous intention of pillaging those whom they are called to rule, and are bound to protect. It would have been well if you, who have called for details, had pointed out the particular instances which justify such an assertion to your mind; in order that persons, as independent of the present, and every other administration, as yourself, might have had an opportunity of more correctly judging how far they had been deceived as to the past, and what precautions they ought to take for the future. I have supported the present administration, from a conviction that they were united upon principles of real public utility, and for the purpose of carrying into execution plans of great national improvement, both in our foreign and domestic circumstances; and I cannot abandon them, because, in a situation more difficult than that in which any of their predecessors have ever stood, they have not been able to effect, what, I believe to have been nearest the hearts of them all; I mean a peace with France; seeing such a peace could not have been obtained upon terms consistent with national honour, and because time has not sufficed to mature and execute the schemes of internal improvement, which they have manifested their determination to pursue.—You assume, that whenever the leaders of contending parties in a state unite, that it never is in favour of the people; and that the history of the world bears evidence of the truth of your assertion. It appears to me that the doctrine you maintain; that the political animosities of honest men must be irreconcilable; is most fatal to the existence of a popular government; and if carried to the extreme, must tend to the subjugation of the country, or to the abandonment of liberty, in order to obtain security from foreign conquest; and to history I refer you for the fact, that if the heads of discordant parties could not be united in the cause of the people, the revolution of 1688, in which we glory, could not have been brought about.—You assert, that a double imposture is now attempted upon the people; and you ascribe to each of two parties a watch-word, neither of which I have found to be in use. I have no hesitation, however, in saying, that attached as I am by preference to the more popular parts of our constitution, I consider the throne as indispensably necessary to the perpetuity of our liberties, by preventing any usurpation upon them by individuals, either of the aristocratical or democratical estate: but, however a sovereign ruling these kingdoms may be per-

sonally beloved, his name cannot be brought in question, nor his virtues, however eminent, stated, in order to give strength to the minister he may have appointed, without a violation of the dignity of all the constitutional powers, and I am not aware that such has been the practice now. Neither do I know that the other watch-word, as you term it, has been used, for any sinister purpose. If the friends and admirers of the late Mr. Fox have, upon every occasion, both public and private, spoke of his transcendent merits in the most forcible language their imaginations could supply, I will venture to say, they have in no one instance been able adequately to express their sense of his worth, or the poignancy of their grief, for the irretrievable loss which has been sustained. The term, "the best of patriots," is, in my estimation, of right pre-eminently his; and if you would condescend to refer to the particulars of his glorious and active life, you will find that, for near forty years, he was the most assiduous and disinterested servant any country ever possessed; that he withstood every encroachment attempted upon public liberty; that he proposed innumerable measures for the relief and prosperity of the people; that he obtained some, and endeavoured to obtain many more, diminutions of restraint upon civil and religious freedom; that he did his utmost, and was capable of doing far more than any other individual, by his own personal exertions, could ever do, to prevent wars, which he thought neither just nor necessary, and to obtain or preserve peace, when he thought it could be either achieved or continued with security and honour; that, in the pursuit of the great objects he had in view, he was insensible to all that could intimidate, all that could tempt, all that could persuade minds of an ordinary stamp; and that, in the cause of the people, which he had espoused, he was proof against the allurements of ambition, wealth, power, popularity, and friendship itself.—In the paths of his political wisdom and integrity I desire to walk; and if you are not only not alive to his merits as the best of patriots, but propose to yourself means of rescuing your country from the difficulties of its present situation, totally different from those which Mr. Fox would have pursued, had he lived to counsel us in this hour of trial, you must pardon me for saying, that such an avowal decides me against giving you my vote.—I do not perceive, in your present address, any allusion to an opinion promulgated by you on the late election for Westminster, which is, "that a person holding an office under the crown, however otherwise estima-

ble, cannot at any time become the fit representative of a free, uncorrupt, and independent people; if such opinion be founded in truth, which I utterly deny, a law ought to be passed to exclude all the executive servants of government from seats in either House of Parliament. I have not heard that it was in the contemplation of any one to propose such a measure, and if proposed I am sure it would meet with resistance from all descriptions of persons, who have the power or the will to reason upon its consequences. The people, by the acceptance of your doctrine, would reduce themselves to the hard necessity of being governed by the worst of mankind; for if they absurdly brand every man with disgrace the moment he becomes the official servant of his Majesty, they will render that service disreputable, and of course disgusting to every honest and independent mind.—Then, only, can a public man be said to have forfeited his honour or independence, when he shall have accepted or retained a place at the expense of public principle, or for a dereliction of public duty.—These radical differences render it impossible for me to assist you in becoming a member of parliament. Respective opinions may be maintained consistently with mutual and intire personal respect; such I unfeignedly profess towards you.—The determination you have taken to avoid the expense of conveyance and decorations, so conspicuous at your former elections, does you honour, and I wish such an example could be followed by all other candidates.—The freedom of your letter and address, precludes the necessity of any apology for the openness and detail of my observations; I have therefore only to add, that

I am, Dear Sir,

Your very obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

Southill, Nov. 5, 1806.

Your printed letter and address reached me only to-day.

MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

SIR,—In considering the capacity of ministers to influence voters at elections, which I did in a letter that I some time since addressed to you on the subject of the Westminster Election, I took occasion to observe that money and interest were of less effect than was generally imagined, though it was certainly the interest of the ministry to inculcate the belief that they were irresistible; but, that in truth, the great and powerful instrument used for the corruption of the elective franchise, was the misleading the minds of the electors, either by misrepresenting

the characters of the anti-ministerial candidates, or their professed principles; and, I perceive that this very artifice has been attempted to be practised on the minds of the Middlesex Electors, in order to prevent the return of Sir Francis Burdett: for which purpose Mr. Whitbread has given to the public a letter through the medium of the *Morning Chronicle*, the merits of which I shall presently investigate, as I think it essential to the independence of the county, that they should be freely discussed. Ministers have evidently found that notwithstanding all the interest they can exert; however fluently they may circulate the Treasury purse; they in vain oppose Sir Francis Burdett, if the freeholders themselves consider him as intitled to their support: the manœuvre, therefore, that I have already noticed, and the only one of probable success has been exerted in this instance, under the management of the skilful and virtuous hand of that unremitting opponent of Melville delinquency, Mr. Whitbread: and from general rumour it should seem, that this dose of political empyricism has already operated, and would probably produce its desired effect, unless corrected in its progress by some timely-administered antidote. It appears that Sir Francis Burdett has in his address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, started some sentiments that the ravening jaws of greedy place-hunters have eagerly seized, and which having been sufficiently mangled, are given back to the public, carefully and kindly accompanied, with those remarks which Mr. Whitbread, beyond doubt, in an agony of mind, was conscientiously though reluctantly compelled to make, as a justification for his desertion from that support, which he afforded his once admired friend Sir Francis, when unbiassed by any ministerial considerations. I cannot here avoid remarking as important, to shew beyond all doubt the object with which Mr. Whitbread wrote this letter, that if it had been merely intended to state the grounds of Mr. Whitbread's receding from the support of Sir Francis, why publish it at this moment in a public newspaper? *It would surely have been time enough to have made his defence, when he had been attacked in the newspapers for apostacy;* but this satisfactorily shews that the letter was not published as a vindication of the intended conduct of Mr. Whitbread, but for the sole purpose of *infusing into the minds of the electors, a rooted prejudice against the Baronet, which the small space of time that would elapse between the publication of the letter and the election, must render it almost impossible ef-*

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fectually to remove. But this is a specimen of Whig candour, exerted against a man from no other cause, than that he has too much principle to surrender up his independence, for any emolument or favour that ministers can bestow upon him. But, let us see how correct Mr. Whitbread has been in his animadversions upon the sentiments avowed by Sir Francis. Mr. Whitbread says, Sir Francis has assumed, that whenever the leaders of contending parties in a state unite, it is never in favour of the people, and that the history of the world bears evidence of the truth of the assertion. Now, Mr. Whitbread attempts, what it is natural to suppose he would, to shew the fallacy of this position; and, after alluding to the revolution in 1688, observes; that if opposite parties had not united, the revolution would never have been effected; but is that particular incident, let me ask, an answer to the general proposition of Sir Francis? Certainly not! And Mr. Whitbread must have known, and if his candour had been co-extensive with his prejudice, would have admitted, that the particular exception, which he was obliged to *travel through the historic page for 200 years to discover*, so far from militating against, served to strengthen the maxim as laid down by Sir Francis.—No one can suppose that Sir Francis meant to say, that an honest man and a rogue may not unite in the laudable endeavour to extinguish the flames that were consuming a neighbour's house; but when that was effected, it would be rather singular, and raise shrewd suspicions in men's minds, if they were seen afterwards walking arm-in-arm together, and embracing one another whenever they met as cordial friends; and upon reference to the period of the revolution, Mr. Whitbread will find, that that great object being effected, men shortly after relapsed again into their former habits of thinking, and that Whigs and Tories became as formidable opponents as ever. Mr. Whitbread might in his researches, have found some notable instances in the Roman History, particularly at the death of Cæsar, very much in favour of Sir Francis's idea; and, but that it would be extremely painful to the lively sensibility of Mr. Whitbread, I would ask, what he truly thought of that memorable coalition between the "best of patriots" and Lord North; but the tears of friendship may prevent his utterance; and, I shall therefore wave that question, and beg leave to put another. Suppose any right hon. gent. being one of the ministry, should think that with respect to one of our public pri-

sons, there had been much mismanagement used, and some wanton cruelty, which called for redress, and a suitable punishment to be inflicted on the offenders; and that another great man at the head of the ministry thought quite the contrary; now, unless the redress of abuses, and the punishment of crimes are admitted to be exiled from the consideration of ministers, would not any plain honest thinking man believe, that it could not in the nature of things be possible for two such men to become the cordial co-operators in the same government; and yet I would ask Mr. Whitbread, whether this seeming paradox does not really exist; and if it does, then Freeholders of Middlesex, what think you of such a coalition? It seems that even in the most virtuous of states, there is such a thing as surrendering up character, honour, and even feelings, indignant at past injuries; in truth, the whole man, internal and external, for a certain equivalent; and as we seem in modern times to be more acquainted with this state secret than our ancestors were, a few years hence some ingenious man will be enabled to publish a calculation for the benefit of the nation, in which every man's honour and conscience will be reduced to an exact standard, and where by knowing the height, complexion, and age, ministers will be able to calculate the equivalent to the greatest nicety; and which, as it will produce a considerable saving to the country, I trust the author will receive an adequate reward for so useful a calculation. But there is another tenet promulgated by Sir Francis, that has quite astounded the virtuous disinterested Whigs, and appears to them such an anomaly in the mind of any thinking being, that they read it with all the astonishment and disgust, that a pope in the early days of Harry the 8th, would have read a heresy. Sir Francis has said that a person holding an office under the crown, is unfit to be the representative of a free, uncorrupt, and independent people. Was there ever any doctrine so shockingly heterodox, and so alarming to the delicate nerves of the Whigs in place; irritability has been in some measure peculiar to the Whigs. Honest men are frequently warm, and such doctrine as this must have produced something like a fever in their constitution; that is, *had it been true*; but hear how Mr. Whitbread in the exuberance of his wit and judgment shows it must be false. Mr. Whitbread most sagaciously observes, that the public by the acceptance of this doctrine would reduce themselves to the *hard necessity of being governed by the*

worst of mankind. But what argument does the gentleman bring to prove this profound conclusion?

Quibus iudiciis, quo teste, probavit?

Nihil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit.

Not one! and strange would it have been if he had attempted it. What, has the world so squeamishly grown, or is there such a paucity of men of talents, that not one skilful man could be found, not one splendid genius who would lend his kind assistance in greasing the wheels of government, though he should be offered a snug seven thousand per annum from the public purse? but, why do I say £7000; that is given as a tribute for passive obedience; for the purchase of the observance of an old worn-out Tory principle. But what if such a genius were told that himself and his relations should enjoy an additional thirty to the seven; would not £37,000 per annum think you, ye independent Whigs, be an irresistible lure? Does the Right Honourable the Treasurer of the Navy apprehend there would be any murmurings? But I will not trouble that Right Honourable Gentleman upon the subject: as he, "the flaming patriot (to use the words of Junius) who so lately scorched us in the Meridian, sinks temperately to the West, and is hardly felt as he descends." I will not disturb him in his slumbers. But is it possible that the able, the enlightened Mr. Whitbread, can have drawn such an absurd conclusion, in order to shew the fallacy of Sir Francis's assertion. If this be state logic, Mr. Cobbett, it should seem that what an experienced author has observed is certainly true, "*that a small infusion of the alderman is necessary to those who are employed in public affairs.*"—I am afraid, Sir, I have already occupied too much of your valuable paper in exploding the insidious attempt made to defeat the return of a man whose only crime is integrity and manly independence, and who is disliked for having an insuperable objection to smooth-tongued, April-faced, placemen and pensioners. I have, however, here noticed the only grounds upon which Mr. Whitbread relies, and by which he undertakes so decidedly to shew, that he himself, (*though entertaining the greatest personal respect for Sir Francis*) and consequently, that all other freeholders as prudent, but equally as disinterested ought not to support the worthy Baronet at the ensuing election; for, with respect to the "watch-word of parties," Mr. Whitbread does not lay any stress upon it, well knowing that the interpretation so anxiously circulated to the prejudice

of the Baronet, is as untrue as illiberal, and quite impossible to be supported upon any thing like an argument.—It should seem, however, that Providence in mercy to us sublunary beings, has decreed that malice shall defeat itself, and that the mind shall be enfeebled on the instant it becomes unjust; for how otherwise can it be accounted for, that there should be such a failure of any thing like argumentative talent in Mr. Whitbread's letters; a composition in that respect so flimsy, that no political piece of workmanship probably ever came manufactured from the ministerial anvil, with such palpable defects. I however feel, Mr. Cobbett, that any further comment on it must be unnecessary, that it will be found to be a bane that carries with it its own antidote, and that the freeholders whom it was intended to infect, with a just contempt for such a shabby political artifice, will become more strenuous in the support of the most avowedly, and I dare say, most truly independent man in the county of Middlesex.—W. F. S. *Lincoln's Inn, Nov. 10, 1806.*

ROCHESTER ELECTION.

This election, at which SIR SIDNEY SMITH was one of the candidates, has terminated in his exclusion from parliament; a thing proper enough upon the grounds of reason, but not very easily reconciled with the exertions that the ministry have made to bring in SIR SAMUEL HOOD for the city of Westminster.—Mr. O'Bryen, who, in the most disinterested and spirited manner, has stood by SIR SIDNEY upon this occasion, has published the following remarks, which I insert as well worthy of public attention, and as the best account that will, in all probability, be obtained of the matter.—The conduct of the proprietor of the Morning Chronicle is well calculated to excite general indignation; but, it is such as might naturally have been expected from a patriotic printer turned place-hunter.—"One of the proprietors of the Morning Chronicle, to prevent the possibility of a man of genius and virtue (Mr. S.) from being confounded with one who has scarcely a sprig of the former, and never had a spark of the latter, it is deemed right to state, that the person here alluded to is Mr. James Perry; this gentleman has in his paper of yesterday, denominated Mr. Denis O'Bryen as Sir Sidney Smith's 'Agent.' It is not with a view to disparage in the slightest degree, the office of an election 'Agent,' (a function quite honourable, when honourably executed)

“ but for the sake of truth, that it is stated,
 “ that Mr. Denis O'Bryen was not the
 “ Agent of Sir Sidney Smith, nor of any
 “ mortal, at any period of his life. Elec-
 “ tions have impaired the health, and will,
 “ possibly, have the effect of shortening the
 “ days of Mr. Denis O'Bryen; but he never
 “ stood, in any election, in any other
 “ capacity than that of friend; and no
 “ encomium can gratify him more than the
 “ full persuasion of Mr. James Perry, that
 “ same Mr. James Perry, speaking to the
 “ very best of his honest judgment, that it
 “ is totally impossible, a sentiment of mere
 “ friendship should, and should alone, in-
 “ spire Mr. Denis O'Bryen to his exertions
 “ during the last three weeks for Sir Sidney
 “ Smith. Such a feeling is utterly incom-
 “ prehensible to the generous mind of Mr.
 “ James Perry; who is unable to separate
 “ friendly exertion from notions of barter.
 “ To him, political co-operation, quite
 “ naturally, suggests nothing so much as
 “ ideas of lucre. He, who has been clear-
 “ ing thousands yearly by political co-opera-
 “ tion, whilst most of his compatriots (who
 “ were not born to great possessions) were
 “ steeped in poverty to the very lips, knows
 “ so little of moderation under his fortune,
 “ that, like a pad, up to his belly in grass,
 “ he must prance about, and perfume the
 “ atmosphere with the result of his fodder.
 “ For many years past, Mr. Denis O'Bryen
 “ has deemed it necessary to abstain from
 “ all contact and conversation with Mr.
 “ Perry. It is the fixed belief of Mr. Denis
 “ O'Bryen, that the policy is false which
 “ would temporize with such a man as Mr.
 “ Perry; a man, upon whose kindness, good
 “ will, and good-nature, are absolutely
 “ thrown away. Distance from him, and
 “ defiance of him, are the only course to
 “ safety; yet even this course, for Mr.
 “ O'Bryen at least, fails of its proper effect;
 “ for his danger, from the constant con-
 “ suming jealousy and envy of Mr. Perry,
 “ is nearly alike, with or without his inter-
 “ course.—The malignity of Mr. Perry to
 “ Mr. Denis O'Bryen, is absolutely im-
 “ placable. The latter has traced it in
 “ many different shapes since the beginning
 “ of the Rochester election, that it appears
 “ Mr. Perry's appetite only grows by what
 “ it feeds on, and that he gluts himself
 “ with rancour and malice against Mr. O'B.,
 “ as if the taste had been new to him. Mr.
 “ Perry's paper had priority of the account

“ of the Rochester election tendered to it on
 “ Sunday last. Though printed at his office,
 “ and every line of that account avowed by
 “ Mr. O'B. as is every word of this article,
 “ Mr. Perry could insert it only as an ad-
 “ vertisement, because Mr. Calcraft and
 “ his party were his friends! They are
 “ indeed his friends—friends worthy of such
 “ a friendship. Such friends are formed
 “ for each other: and be it a part of Sir S.
 “ Smith's glories, to stand for ever in the
 “ disfavour of such men.—To have done
 “ with Mr. Perry, a word shall now be said
 “ of his friend Mr. Calcraft.—What Mr.
 “ Denis O'Bryen stated, over and over,
 “ and over, on the hustings at Rochester,
 “ he here reiterates, namely, and in the
 “ most direct sense of every word in which he
 “ endeavours to convey his meaning, that
 “ Mr. Calcraft has been the early, the late,
 “ the systematic laborious, unceasing enemy,
 “ and ouster of Sir Sidney Smith, at
 “ Rochester.—What England will think of
 “ Mr. Calcraft for so being, is not doubt-
 “ ful. What the government, whose in-
 “ terest he has so carefully cultivated, in
 “ his manœuvres at Rochester, may think
 “ of him, Mr. O'Bryen pretends not to
 “ judge; but the judgment which all other
 “ men of honour must form of Mr. Cal-
 “ craft, is as certain as the succession of
 “ effect to cause. What Mr. O'Bryen has
 “ said of Mr. Calcraft, on Saturday last, at
 “ the Town-hall of Rochester, refers to
 “ not the one-twentieth part of Mr. Cal-
 “ craft's palpable hostilities to Sir Sidney
 “ Smith; and the document which con-
 “ cludes this article is only an *unus ab om-
 “ nibus*, as manifested at Rochester, of that
 “ hon. gentleman's good faith towards the
 “ government, that has invested him with
 “ a post of trust and profit; as well as his
 “ sympathy to the general, nay, (with the
 “ exception of a faction at Rochester, in-
 “ stigated by the meanest of motives) to
 “ the universal feeling of the British nation
 “ towards Sir Sidney Smith. Mr. Calcraft
 “ has a place in the Ordnance-Office. The
 “ reader is left to judge for himself, whe-
 “ ther any magnifier could reflect that hon.
 “ gentleman's disposition towards Sir Sid-
 “ ney Smith more plainly than the list of
 “ votes which follows. In this list the
 “ public will perceive, that not even a sin-
 “ gle person votes for Sir Sidney Smith!”

D. O'B.”

“ Nov. 11, 1806.

Ordinance Department.

FIRST DAY'S POLL.

	Smith	Calcraft	Barnett
Samuel Baker, contractor for buildings - - -	0	1	1
Thomas Whiffin, the elder, overseer - - -	0	1	0
F. Patten, contractor for mason's work - -	0	1	1
J. Atwood, wheelright royal Arsenal, Woolwich -	0	1	0
Henry Webb, wheelwright, Chatham - - -	0	1	1
J. Batten, contractor for furniture - - -	0	1	1
George Roots, carpenter -	0	1	1
Jesse Nower, the elder, Deputy Barrack-Master -	0	1	1
James Burgis, extra clerk -	0	1	0
Andrew Robbins, carpenter	0	1	1
Henry Chas. Webb, wheelwright - - -	0	1	1
Samuel Nicholson, clerk of survey - - -	0	1	1
W. Nicholson, contractor for buildings - - -	0	1	1

SECOND DAY'S POLL.

T. Brisley, contractor for masons' work - - -	0	1	1
William Lamb, carpenter -	0	0	1
E. Stone, contractor for plumbers' work - - -	0	1	1

MR. HUNT'S ADDRESS TO THE INDEPENDENT FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF WILTS.

Gentlemen ;—I flatter myself that a few lines, addressed to you by a brother freeholder, (one who has ever lived among you, and has ever been most sincerely devoted to the liberty and the independence of the county) will not, at this critical period, be deemed obtrusive, nor wholly unworthy your serious consideration.—Considering, with many of the best-disposed characters in the kingdom, that the fate of this country, will be in a great measure, decided by the approaching election, I think it highly important, that every freeholder should be exhorted to think and act for himself on this occasion. Let every man remember, that by bartering his liberty at this awful period, he may speedily endanger the very existence of his country.—If you duly reflect on the present situation of the Prussians, and every other power on the continent that are opposed to our powerful enemy, I think you will agree with me, that this moment is the most awful in the history of Europe.—Old England, our country, is not yet subdued—let us hope that it never

will; but it is by every thinking man confessed to be in a very perilous situation—in such a situation that it cannot possibly much longer support its independence, without the extraordinary sacrifices and exertions of the people. Therefore it behoves you, my brother freeholders of this county, at this moment, in particular, and let me conjure you, as the greatest boon you can bestow on your country at this time, “diligently and impartially to inquire whether all the evils we endure, and all the dangers that threaten us, are not to be ascribed to the folly and the baseness of those who have so shamefully abused their privilege of choosing members of parliament.”—The dangers I allude to will (I fear) be increased by every post we receive from the continent; the evils are, a system of taxation; which must be felt by us all (to say the least of it) to have trebled the paupers of this county within the last twenty years.—No country is willing to attribute its ruin to its own baseness; but if you tamely submit to have a man thrust down your throats to be your representative for this county, by the Beckhampton or the Deptford Club, or any other party of men whatever, without your considering whether he be a proper independent character, and capable of executing such an important trust, at this eventful period; if you basely and tamely submit to this worst of degradation—whether it be from indolence, or whether it be from the worst of all human dependence, the fear of offending Mr. Long or Mr. Short—you will be a disgrace to your country, and be cursed by your posterity for your pusillanimous surrender of those liberties and just rights, that were so gloriously secured to you by your forefathers.—I beseech you, let no man deceive himself; if he act in this manner, I am persuaded that he may live to be convinced that he has, by losing this opportunity, been in a great degree instrumental to his country's ruin.—Is there a man amongst you so insensible as not to feel the weight of the present taxes, and yet so hardened as to go to the hustings and give his vote to a mere cypher: to a man from whom he has not the least reason to expect any thing but a tame acquiescence in the measures of any one who happens to be the minister of the day?—The man who is now looked out to be our new representative, his very best friends do not speak of any qualification that he possesses, to make him worthy of that honourable situation: they only tell us of his uncle's long purse! Therefore, in good truth, we may as well be represented

by his uncle's old three-corner'd hat. And as for the other member, even in his youthful days, he was no better in the House of Commons than an old woman.—Is there no honourable and independent man to be found in the county of Wilts, capable of sustaining such a charge? I myself have no doubt but there are many; but it is that cursed long purse, and an idea that the freeholders of this county will never exert themselves for their independence, that deters many from stepping forward, that would do honour to the trust reposed in them. There are a number of freeholders in this county, that are independent, if they would for one moment think themselves so. Then let us say we will have a man of our own choosing, as free of expense to himself, as we would wish him to be honest and true to the confidence reposed in him. But if you let this present opportunity slip, I for one will never despair: I shall look on with feelings of contempt and indignation; I shall wait patiently for the day when we shall be enabled to exert ourselves effectually for the preservation of those just rights and liberties that are the bulwarks of our glorious and blessed constitution.—I am, Gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient humble servant,

HENRY HUNT.

Chisenbury House, Oct. 30, 1806.—

P. S. My motive for addressing you by the means of a handbill is, that the printer of the Salisbury Journal is too intimately connected with the gagging party, and too inflexible in suppressing every idea of independence, to admit of its reaching you through the medium of that paper.

MR. CARTWRIGHT'S SECOND ADDRESS TO
THE ELECTORS OF BOSTON.

[For the First Address see p. 718.]

Monday, 10th Nov. 1806.

Gentlemen,—Before my departure from the town I beg leave to assure you, that the final event of the Poll on Monday last was very far from exciting in me any regret for having appeared among you as a candidate for the office of one of your representatives. On the contrary, it confirmed, and in a way extremely gratifying to me, the persuasion which I had on the preceding evening expressed,—that “if as much pains were taken to inculcate *public principle as town party*, the best things in favour of the liberties of our country might be expected from the electors of Boston.”—Considering that, prior to the election, the intended dissolution of parliament had been to all the *town parties* 16 days known; that the borough had, by all the power and influence it

contains, been for 11 days canvassed; that the tender of my services had been only a few hours announced, and that, at the close of the election, the *public principle* on which I stood had obtained me 59 unsolicited votes, besides tenders from 26 free men who had neglected some forms of qualification. Considering, I say, all these circumstances, there has been nothing in the event to give me a moment's personal disquiet; for there was nothing I sought but an office perhaps above my strength, and that could not fail, had it been obtained, to have laid on me a heavy burthen of laborious duties.—The 59 and 26, in voting for me without any hope of reward, have done equal credit to themselves and to me. For the honour of their confidence they have my thanks; and to all parties I am grateful for the civility I received.—It is in real sincerity I particularly thank a gentleman who told me, that “the electors of Boston *love their king and country*.” Of this information I was heartily glad. I only wish there had been added to the assertion, evidence of the fact. It may be true; and I trust it is. But the assertion was needless, unless it bore reference to some conduct that was to be its demonstration.—On my part, Gentlemen, with a frankness not very usual with candidates, I had mentioned to you in my first printed Address, a *fact* which is not in harmony with my informant's assertion. Ere such an unqualified assertion had been made, that *fact* ought surely to have been first disproved; but no one has either ventured to deny, or affected to doubt it. Now, according to the political code from which I have been accustomed to derive my instruction, I learn, that he who sells his vote, *sells his king and country*.—Of the intention, and the desire of the Electors of Boston to *love their king and country*, I certainly have no distrust; but what we intend and desire, we do not always accomplish; and I trust they will take in good part a little reasoning, to shew how they may infallibly succeed. Political *love* is like religious *faith*. This must be evidenced by *works*, or it is *not* faith; that must be evidenced by a performance of *duty* or it is *not* love.—Our individual *VOTES as electors*, are the stuff of which our collective *LIBERTY as a nation* is made. National liberty is the direct object, and the true support of the constitution. To barter away our votes without any regard to duty, is to despise and to betray the constitution. If we despise and betray the constitution, how can we *love our king and country*? Our elections once taken away by the strong hand of power, or defeated by the dirty hand of corruption, we shall have exchanged honour

for infamy, freedom for arbitrary government. Is there a man among you, Electors of Boston! who consents to this change? Is there a man among you so poor and so abject, as to barter away an Englishman's birth-right for a morsel of pottage, and in the same act to sell his king and country?—In the irresistible eloquence of scripture, we are taught, that he who even looks upon a woman to lust after her, commits adultery. The moral is equally applicable in politics. The trafficking in votes for gain, or private interest, or to oblige a friend, or in any other way that is inconsistent with *public duty*, must not even be contemplated. It is political adultery.—In an adjoining parish to this there is a sea bank, or rampart for *common defence and preservation*. Each separate portion of this rampart is upheld by the individual upon whose estate it abuts, who therefore calls that proportion *his*. Does any such person reason thus—“My bank “being my own, I may let it fall to decay; “or I may cut a breach and sell the soil I “take out, leaving a passage for the sea?”—The constitutional rampart for the *common defence and preservation* of our national liberties is composed but of two principal materials, the swords and the votes of FREE MEN. Which of you would sell his sword to the Emperor of France, for subjecting England to a foreign despotism? If, at the thought of such treason, your minds revolt, let them equally revolt at treason in another shape, for enslaving your country to a domestic despotism. If electors sell themselves to men who, for what they can sponge out of the public taxes for themselves and relations, are equally subservient to every minister, those electors do all in their power to enslave the whole nation.—Whether, according to the accurate distinction of the great and excellent Sir William Jones, a man be an elective, or a representative legislator; that is, whether, in the business of making laws, on which depends the security of the throne, and the salvation of the state, he be one of the electors, or one of the elected; or, in other words, one of the *principals* or one of the *deputies*, to give his vote freely, independently, and according to his conscience, for the good of the *state*, and that only, is so evident a duty, so clear a moral obligation, it cannot stand in need of more argument than is contained in a mere statement of the case.—Most happy for us, my friends and countrymen, would it be, did all those who talk of *loving their king and country* know what the law of England means by the word *king*! Or did they understand what the *constitution* intends by the kingly office!



they comprehend, or did they feel, what, in the language of enlightened patriotism, is designated by the sacred word COUNTRY!—It is high time the good People of England cease to be duped by the cant of misapplied words. Too long has this sort of cant aided state factions in plunging us into wars, the dreadful consequences of which, although foretold, were disregarded. Too long has this sort of jargon (for the best of words, when misapplied, are jargon) put by artful managers into the mouths of their puppets, and echoed by well-meaning but mistaken men, been one of the instruments of our oppression.—A full tenth part of our population we see pauperized. The number of productive hands is diminished, but tax-gatherers swarm; and while the industrious labourers and artizans in extreme poverty are struggling for bread. Acts of parliament are passed for adding, out of the public taxes, to the wealth of the wealthy; as well as, for a second time over, paying above one hundred thousand pounds for an estate, for which the nobleman who sold it was paid the purchase money, according to bargain, forty years ago. While war devours our substance in a degree almost beyond all example, we see its agents blazing in the ostentation of riches, and all the departments for its management engaged in a general conspiracy of plunder, till commissioners upon commissioners are added to the authorized expense, to stem, if possible, this tide of pillage. But it never can be stemmed without an independent House of Commons; and the sight most alarming, and what concerned electors most to notice was this, when the whole House of Commons (as proved by their successive proceedings) believed a cabinet statesman deserving of impeachment, an entire half of them voted to protect him from even a censure. As the cant and jargon of which I complain enabled former ministers, aided by *parliaments that did not represent the people*, to withhold from us the essentials of our freedom, may the present ministers and the new parliament follow a different course!—If the *SELLERS* of votes are seriously to blame, the *BUYERS* must be much more criminal; especially as they have better means of knowing their duty. Is it that good may come, they do this great evil? Do they intend us the incalculable good of restoring to purity the corrupted, and repairing the decayed branches, civil and military, of the constitution; so that, in the day of trial, England may stand that shock which no other European nation, for want of that freedom which alone makes a nation worth defending, has felt and stood? Should such, indeed, be their motive, they

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need not despair of their country's forgiveness. Merit such as this ought to obliterate from her records at least all the original characters of this corruption! It is to her general supineness we owe our present unhappy situation. But if BUYERS of another stamp, if all their schemes centre in self and sordid lucre, neither their country's forgiveness, nor their own approbation shall await them. The same traffic that raises a venal VOTE-BUYER on a poll, sinks him in moral estimation. The turpitude that purchases the outward shew of prosperity, punishes by the inward torments of shame and remorse. —In becoming a candidate on the late occasion, the writer knew that, like Lord Castlereagh, he had two strings to his bow. Had you entered into his feelings on those political objects for which alone he would enter the House of Commons, you might perhaps have thought, that a man who had been 30 years contending for the one, and 24 years labouring for the other, might not have been altogether an unqualified deputy or attorney—I like the good old words of the law and the constitution—for representatively exercising on your behalf, your portion of the legislation of your country, principally with a view of obtaining those objects. But should this string fail, he was sure of his other. He must, at all events, have a good opportunity of making a few political observations. In this respect at least he has succeeded; and believing he is doing political good in present, and laying foundations for greater good in future, he is well content. The effects which his efforts have already produced, he accounts no small gain. At an election in another place, it has lately been well observed, that there is more danger to our liberties, from one hundred mercenaries in the House of Commons, than from five hundred thousand led by Buonaparté. But, in this observation, the extent of the danger is not adequately expressed. It is imputed to Buonaparté, that, in subjugating nations, he does as much by policy and corruption as by the sword. He was thought to have corrupted the Austrian general Mack, and it is now said, he has in regular pay a Prussian statesman. Is England then the only country that is secure from such machinations? —England where no man can tell you of a Borough that is not venal and where you must have universal knowledge indeed, in the Red Book, if you can put your finger on the names of fifty members of parliament who are not dependent! —It being a melancholy fact, that the votes in those which are called our open boroughs, are merchantable commodities at the service of any BUYER—even though a stranger whose face was

never before seen—it follows as a necessary consequence, that seats in the legislature of our country are obtainable in great numbers, by traitors who may be in the pay of the enemy; while to men of rigid morality, or of small estates, be their knowledge ever so extensive, or their virtue ever so exalted, these boroughs are forbidden fruit.—Above 20 years ago, and in my hearing, it was proclaimed in parliament by Mr. Pitt, that the Nabob of Arcot, had his 7 or 8 members in the House of Commons of England. At a subsequent period the same minister might have known, that as great a number of mercenaries were placed in that House, to be guardians of the infernal slave trade, by the gold of Jamaica. If such things could be done by the gold of Jamaica, and by the gold of Arcot, why not by the gold of France? If two distant nations could thus introduce their factions into the very bowels of our national great council, what is to hinder its being done by one within sight of our shores? Here, then, to our shame, are two facts to prove our danger from this source. Twice warned, and remembering who sits on the French throne, let us beware of the third attempt! But you, who boast of loving your King and Country, what say you to all this? Is parliamentary reform quite so wicked a device, or quite so foolish a project, as the dealers in cant phrases and profligate jargon have been used to report and to gabble for your edification? Speak out! Don't generalize; but come to particulars; that we may know your meaning.—Now, seriously taking a correct view of our subject, must not reason necessarily conclude, that, any man who could be so mentally blind, as not to see the strong necessity of reformation in our elective and representative system, for preserving us from either a domestic or a foreign despotism, must be utterly unfit for a legislator of the land. And witnessing the rest of Europe's fate, and seeing England's present danger, will not reason equally pronounce, that he who should be so hostile to our liberties, as to resist such a reformation for preserving the Constitution, must be in the highest degree criminal, and the worst of enemies to his King and Country?—One of the Representatives whom you have now chosen I believe, Gentlemen, to be a parliamentary reformer. Experience may possibly have converted the other.—Should curiosity not be yet satisfied, as to the writer's motives for becoming a Candidate at the time he did, let him add, that shocked at the conduct of those who strive to aggravate the ignorance of the ignorant, it has

ever been his desire and his effort to add to their knowledge;—that with the deepest contempt for the selfish and base, who strive to render the Electors as bad as themselves, it has ever been his wish they should hold fast their integrity, and each like a good soldier who fights as if victory depended on his single arm, behave in the political battle, as if his country's fate depended on his individual vote;—and that, disgusted with the factious arts, the sawnings, the cringings, the low intrigue, and groveling meanness, by which the unprincipled seek to delude, to debauch, and to degrade Free Men into venal slaves; it has ever been his ambition to counteract the mischief; to shew that it is not birth or apprenticeship, paper or parchment, but free minds, that make free men; to excite a disdain of servitude, and an abhorrence of every attempt to convert electors into beasts of burthen; and to guard them against being cajoled into instruments of the ambition or the avarice of candidates; whether they would use them as a ladder, for climbing the lofty tree of nobility, or as a picklock, for robbing the treasury.—I was the more induced on the present occasion practically, as a contending party, to resist, and to expostulate upon, the custom I condemn, because from the present aspect of things, my mind entertains a powerful persuasion that the time is not distant—perhaps not so distant as your next election, when it will be finally decided whether England shall irrecoverably sink in domestic slavery, or shall be revolutionized in consequence of invasion, or shall be renovated by reform, and shall then place on a basis, more firm than any former foundation, her liberty and her happiness. This, in my judgement, will without difficulty be done whenever the people taxed into reflection, shall properly renew their Petitions, and the King, shall have the good fortune to meet with honest advice; of which we ought not to despair, because some of his present ministers, and his law officers, have long since put upon record their sentiments in favour of such a reformation. To my country, as well as myself, time is precious. Little perhaps remains to me; and, although so long as a spark of life shall animate my heart, I trust it will be devoted to my country's liberty, I can hope to do but little more in its cause than I have already done.—I bid you farewell! and remain, Gentlemen, Your obedient servant,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

SIR,—It is with no small degree of sur-

prise, that I find myself charged by your correspondent W. F. S. (see p. 695) with a want of forbearance from angry expressions towards him, in my reply to his former letter. I think, however, that I sufficiently repel the accusation by a mere reference to the paper of which he complains; at least, I sincerely declare that I do not discover, on repertusing it, any thing which seems to indicate the temper he condemns. Indeed it appears to me scarcely possible that such a sentiment as personal animosity can be felt by a writer, who conceals, under alphabetical symbols, his refutation of arguments, announced under similar forms, and enveloped in the same mystery. The natural influence of civilized society would prevent any intemperance of language in a verbal dispute between gentlemen, and would impose at least equal restrictions in the course of a discussion submitted by both parties to the decision of the public. If the contrary be discoverable in my writings, it would be more reasonable in my opponent to impute it to the habits of vulgar life, than to an imperviousness to instruction from the precept he quotes, which is common to every sect of Christians, and which, since it has humanized him, should have taught him more respect for it, than to couple it with a ludicrous and inappropriate extract from a burlesque poem. I consider the Political Register as a work sacred to the public instruction, and by no means should it be profaned by personal abuse, or by personal flattery. It is not, like Addison's Spectator, a theatre for the exhibition of skill and address in eloquence and literature: it is not Ulysses's bow, which every inexperienced writer may handle in order to make trial of his strength. It is rather the severe tribunal of the Arcopagus, whence all the deceptions of eloquence were scrupulously banished, and where truth, unsophisticated truth, was alone admitted to plead the cause of virtue. The conductor of so important an engine should exercise the right or more properly, the duty of censorship, and should expunge, even from the best-written essays, whatever cannot be considered as immediately subservient to the great object, the public benefit. With this opinion of the Political Register, I must confess I beheld with as much concern for the reputation of your paper, as interest for the cause which W. F. S. had chosen to attack, the insertion of his first essay against the Catholic claims. W. F. S. appears to me a flippant young man, in the very novitiate of authorship, without a competent knowledge of the English language, without classical or foreign literature, and without

experience of men and manners. To compensate such great and essential defects, the man who presumes to instruct the public, should at least possess a clear understanding, an acute perception, an accurate judgment, and a methodical spirit. I observe none of these great requisites in the two essays which W. F. S. has obtruded upon the public: every thing is feeble, confused, dogmatical, and impertinent. Allow me, Sir, to turn from so unworthy an antagonist, and to discuss *with you* the arguments which you have honoured by introducing them to public notice.—I ventured to contradict the assertion, that every state has a right to point out of what persuasion the national religion shall be composed. (the faulty and imperfect expression of the idea is not attributable to me, but to W. F. S. from whose essay I extracted the passage.) I supported my opinion by arguments, drawn from reason and history, and from the example of that great master whom all Christians profess to follow; but I am told that the whole of my answer is founded on misapprehension. It is again asserted, in contradiction to my opinion, that government *does* possess the right which I denied to it, and to illustrate the position, the idea of government is placed in a new point of view, and simplified into that of a private compact. “Suppose,” says W. F. S., “that a number of persons should form a society, with the liberty of admitting other members on certain conditions; surely these persons could make a resolution that Catholics should be ineligible; and no Catholic, as far as I can see, could fairly complain of such a resolution: most clearly he could have no right to prevent its being carried into effect.” I allow to W. F. S. the whole force of this argument. But of all the modes of reasoning, reasoning from analogy is the most fallacious. The case he states does not apply to the present condition of the British Catholics. In this country, a number of persons, probably a majority of the total population of the kingdom, separated themselves from the general society, possessed themselves of all the power, all the honours, and all the advantages of the commonwealth, and declared ineligible to the enjoyment or inheritance of any particle of them, all those who, though equally contributing to the burthens of the state, should refuse to sacrifice the right of private judgment *on metaphysical questions, unconnected with the temporal welfare of the nation.* If we choose to simplify the idea of government into that of a private compact, we must imagine a private society, formed with the liberty of admitting or rejecting

other members on certain conditions, sufficiently powerful to support and enforce its authority, binding its members, together with their families and their posterity, to adhere to its maxims, condemning those whose judgment should prove unsteady to civil and political incapacity, and even aggravating to them the common burthens of the state. Yet even this society, which has already swelled into an idea too vast to be denominated private, does not exactly represent the relative situation of British Catholics, to their more favoured countrymen of the privileged sect: for the former have not only been declared *ineligible*, but are *punished because they disdain to offer themselves as candidates for admission.* I do think, on this view of the subject, that *paramount natural law* does most clearly authorise the dissident, not only *to complain* of the institutions of such a society, *but does invest him with a right to prevent their being carried into effect, if it can be done without injury to the public tranquillity.* “The state,” it is said, “does not interfere with the conscience of others; on the contrary, the state protects individuals in the exercise of their religious tenets whatever they may be; and claims no right of controul over private conscience.” It does indeed protect its dissentient members from individual oppression, and it secures to them their domestic enjoyments; but is it no temptation to apostasy to hold out to them, *as a recompence for abjuring their religion and on no other conditions,* all that dignifies life, and makes patriotism virtue? It is asked, what power I leave to the state, if I refuse them the right in question? I answer, all power which the safety or prosperity of the state requires; power to incite every energy, to controul every action, or every tendency to action, which endangers its welfare; and to repress all attempts to new-model it, contrarily to the general will. Your correspondent produces an extract from Dr. Paley, which he thinks must prove conclusive against the right of the Catholics. I respect the authority of DR. PALEY, equally at least with W. F. S., for I certainly understand him better, and I conform to his political doctrine as laid down in the very passage which W. F. S. has quoted. For, while the law stands as it is, “I cannot allege that the “magistrate,” even in enforcing that law to my disadvantage, “has transgressed the “boundaries of his jurisdiction;” but “I “complain of the injustice of the sentence “by which I am condemned,” and I expect and claim, from the wisdom of the legislature, that redress, which I am confident

will not be much longer withheld. A quotation from *Hudibras* may perhaps be successfully introduced to silence an opponent in familiar conversation; but sober reasoning disclaims such meritorious assistance. Unless Butler had treated on the professed subject of our discussion, I do not see what support the arguments of W. F. S. can derive from the doggerel rhymes which he has injudiciously quoted; they however, introduce his remarks on the great impolicy of emancipating the Catholics, and he calls upon me to refute the opinion "that discord would be the inevitable consequence of a cabinet formed of Protestants and Catholics." He denies the possibility of such an unnatural combination acting in unison, and he throws back upon me the labour of proving from example the converse of his proposition. I highly venerate the memory of those illustrious patriots, BURKE and FOX, and I believe that both were animated with the purest love for their country. They acted in concert during a considerable period of their political lives; they discussed with temper, though with difference of opinion, the very subject of the present essay; and when they finally broke their political connection, it was from disagreement on a political question. The profession of religious faith from a statesman, who is obliged to conform to the national rites and ceremonies of his national church, is not expected to be produced in an unquestionable shape; but as far as we can judge from the lives, the speeches, and the writings of these two great men, though we cannot positively state what was their religious faith, yet I believe it will be admitted by all who knew them, that the difference of their religious opinions was scarcely less than that of a Protestant and a Catholic. The genius of Burke's religion was, though in a less degree, the same with that of the Romish. He felt the same profound respect to the sacerdotal character, the same submission to the creeds and decrees of synods and councils; he considered pomp and ceremony as essential to public worship, and paid no less regard than the Catholic to days, postures, and vestments. I will not attempt to describe the religion of Mr. Fox, but I appeal to those who knew him, (for openness was his great characteristic,) and I apprehend no contradiction when I assert, that Mr. Fox's religious persuasion differed from that of his colleague, more than Mr. Burke's did from the Catholic religion. Your correspondent distorts my arguments, when he asserts, that I have advanced as a truism, that contraries can be united. I am, however, decidedly of opinion, that on many

and perhaps on all points of public utility, my judgment would coincide with that of the sincerest well-wisher to our common country, which the Church of England can boast of. Though he might consider as errors what I hold as the most sacred truths, yet I cannot doubt but that both of us would equally rejoice in, and equally contribute to the prosperity of our country, the success of its arms, or the amelioration of its internal economy: and, indeed, on all questions of this nature, I scarcely can conceive that our religious opinions could legitimately obtrude themselves, any more than our taste in poetry or in painting. My devotion is more incited by one form of public worship, and his by another, but both of us rise from our knees, convinced that we cannot better shew the sincerity of our faith, than by the practice of public and private morality, and both of us acknowledge, that our highest moral duty is that which we owe to our country. I had instanced as a practical argument of the utility of admitting the Catholic claims, the system of liberty of conscience adopted in Prussia, Saxony, and Russia. I am reproached with having produced such *feeble examples*, and am called upon to furnish some more appropriate from the Italian States: "Can no examples be supplied, exclaims triumphantly Mr. W. F. S., from the erudite and illumined descendants of St. Peter, for granting to others, what they most justly ask of us?" I trust they can: but before producing them, I must premise, for W. F. S.'s instruction, *that all Catholics are not Popes*. It is not the successor of St. Peter who asks emancipation from the British parliament, but the Catholic subjects of his Britannic Majesty. They cannot recollect, that history records any claim for toleration being made by any considerable body of Protestants in Italy; but they know that Jews were tolerated in Rome, in Leghorn, and in Venice; and that, in the last-mentioned city, the Greek religion, which is more repugnant to the Catholic doctrines than Protestantism, was publicly professed. They presume from these examples, that if error had successfully invaded the Italian church, it would not have been treated with greater severity. But foreign example in the present case should influence our opinions but in a slight degree: we cannot, nor do we wish to produce from foreign countries a case exactly in point. *We appeal to the reasons of the British legislature, and to that only.* When government is convinced, that the blessings of equal law can be extended to us without a possibility of the state's being endangered, we know that our claims will

be admitted. While there exists a doubt of the policy of the measure, our duty is to remove the doubt, by exhibiting in our conduct the purity of our principles, and by every fair appeal which our situation admits of. But while we practise the duties of Christians we feel that we are men, we feel that it is time to silence the clamours, the reproaches, and the insults of weak, bigoted, and interested fanatics.—A. B.—*Hampstead, Nov. 4, 1805.*

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*First Bulletin of the Grand Army. Bamberg, Oct. 8, 1806. Continued.*

Troops marched with the greatest rapidity from Berlin. Prussian army entered Saxony. They advanced to the frontiers of the confederation, and insulted their out posts—On the 24th of September, the imperial guard quitted Paris for Bamberg, where it arrived on the 6th of October. Orders were issued for the army to march, and it immediately began to advance.—The Emperor set out from Paris the 25th of September; the 28th he arrived at Mentz; the 2d of October, at Wurzburg; and the 6th, at Bamberg.—The same day two shots were fired by the Prussian hussars at a French field-officer, in view of the armies.—On the 7th, his Majesty the Emperor received a courier from Mentz, sent by the Prince of Benevento (Talleyrand) with two important dispatches. One was a letter from the King of Prussia, containing twenty pages; which, in fact, was nothing but a paltry pamphlet against France, such as those produced by the writers of the English Cabinet, at five hundred pounds per annum! The Emperor, before he finished the reading, turned to those about him and said, 'I pity my Brother the King of Prussia?—he understands not French.—Surely, he cannot have read this rhapsody?' This letter was accompanied by the celebrated note of M. de Knobelsdorff.—'Marshal?' said the Emperor to Berthier, 'they give us a rendezvous of honour for the 8th. A Frenchman never failed; but, as they say a handsome Queen is there, who desires to see battle, let us be polite, and march to Saxony before we go to bed?' The Emperor was correctly informed: for the Queen of Prussia is with the army, equipped like an Amazon, wearing the uniform of her regiment of dragoons, and writing twenty letters a day to all parts of the kingdom, to excite the inhabitants against the French. It appears like the conduct of the frenzied *Armida*, setting fire to her own palace. Next to her Majesty, Prince Louis of Prussia, a brave

young man, incited by the war faction, vainly hopes to gain honour and renown in the vicissitudes of war. Following the example of those two great personages, all the adherents of the court seem eager for war. But when war shall present itself in all its horrors, the feelings and the language of all these will be widely different; they will each then be desirous of vindicating themselves from the charge of having drawn down the thunders of war upon the peaceable provinces of the North; then, by a natural consequence, will be seen those very persons, now so clamorous for war, not only eager to exculpate themselves, but incensed at the results of their own conduct; and even attempting to throw the odium on the king, who was merely the dupe of their own intrigues and artifices!—The French army was disposed in the following order:—The troops were to march, or to advance, in three grand divisions.—The right—consisting of the corps of Marshalls Soult and Ney, and a division of Bavarian troops. They advanced by the route of Allberg and Nuremberg, to unite at Bayreuth, and thence to advance upon Hoff; where they arrived on the 9th.—The centre was composed of the reserve of the Grand Duke of Berg, the corps of the Prince De Ponte-Corvo and Marshal Davoust, and the Imperial guard—advanced by Bamberg towards Cronach; it arrived the 8th at Saalbourg, and advanced by that post and Schleitz, towards Gera.—The left, consisting of the corps of Marshals Lannes and Augereau, advanced from Schweinfurth towards Coburgh, Graffenthal, and Saalfeld.

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Second Bulletin of the Grand Army. Auma, Oct. 12, 1806.

The Emperor set out from Bamberg the 8th, at three o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Cronach at nine. His Majesty traversed the Forest of Franconia at day-break; on the 9th, proceeded to Ebersdorff, and thence to Schleitz, where he was present at the first action of the campaign. He returned to lie at Ebersdorff; he proceeded on the 10th to Schleitz, and arrived the 11th at Auma, where he lay, after passing the day at Gera. Head-quarters have just been transferred to Gera. All the orders of the Emperor have been most successfully executed.—On the 7th Marshal Soult advanced to Bayreuth. The 9th he pushed on to Hoff, where he took possession of the enemy's magazines, and made several prisoners. He advanced to Plauen on the 10th. Marshal Ney followed in his rear, at the distance

of half a day's march. On the 8th the Grand Duke of Berg (Murat), advanced with the light cavalry from Cronach towards Saalbourg; he was attended by the 25th regiment of light infantry. One Prussian regiment appeared inclined to defend the passage of the Saale; but, after a cannonade of half an hour, apprehensive of being turned, it abandoned its position.—The 9th, the Grand Duke of Berg advanced upon Schleitz where a Prussian general with 10,000 men was posted. The Emperor arrived at noon, and ordered the Prince De Ponte-Corvo to attack and take possession of the village, which he deemed of importance. The prince disposed his columns in order, and advanced at their head. He carried the village, and pursued the flying enemy. In the course of the night a great number of prisoners were taken. General Watier, with the 4th regiment of hussars, and the 5th of chasseurs, made a fine and spirited charge against three Prussian regiments. Four companies of the 27th light infantry, which were posted in a plain, were charged by the Prussian hussars; but they were received in such a stile as became French infantry, coping with Prussian cavalry! Two hundred horsemen lay on the field of battle: the French infantry were commanded by General Maisons. A colonel of the enemy was among the dead, two pieces of cannon taken, 300 were made prisoners, and in the whole 400 men were killed; our loss was trifling. The Prussian infantry threw down their arms, and fled trembling from the French bayonets! The Grand Duke led several of the charges, sword in hand.—On the 10th, the Prince De Ponte-Corvo removed his head-quarters to Auma. The 11th, the Grand Duke of Berg arrived at Gera. Lassalle, General of Brigade of the cavalry of reserve, cut off an escort of the enemy's baggage; 500 covered waggons and open carriages were captured; they contained several articles highly important to the operations of a campaign.—The left wing has been equally successful. Marshal Lannes entered Cobourg on the 8th, and advanced against Graffenthal on the 9th. He attacked on the 10th, the advanced guard of Prince Hohenlohe, which was commanded by Prince Louis of Prussia, one of the leaders of the war faction. The cannonade did not last above two hours; it proceeded only from a half of the division of General Suchet. The Prussian cavalry was cut off by the 9th and 10th regiment of hussars. The Prussian infantry were unable to make an orderly retreat; part were cut off in a marsh, the remainder found shelter in the woods. We

made 1000 prisoners, 600 were left dead on the field, and took 30 pieces of cannon.—

Prince Louis of Prussia, a brave and loyal soldier, seeing the rout of his corps, opposed himself singly to a Marshal Des Logis, of the 10th regiment of Hussars. 'Surrender, Colonel,' said the Hussar, 'or you are a dead man!' The Prince answered by a blow of his sabre—his antagonist ran him through the body, on which the Prince instantly fell dead. If the last days of his life were those of a bad citizen, his death was glorious, though to be regretted. His end was such as he desired; that of a good soldier! Two of his *hid-du-camps* were killed near him. On his person were found some letters from Berlin, from which it appeared the project of the enemy had been to commence operations immediately, and that the War Faction, at the head of which were the Queen and the young Prince, had always feared the pacific intentions of the King, whose love for his subjects they thought would induce him to temporise. It may now be said, the very outset of war has destroyed one of its authors!—Neither Dresden or Berlin are covered by an army. Turned on its left, taken in the fact, at the moment when it committed itself to the most hazardous operations, the Prussian Army, at the very outset, is placed in the most critical situation. On the 12th, it occupied Eisenach, Gotha, Erfurt, Weimar. The French Army occupied Saalfeld and Gera, and was about to advance to Nambourg and Tena. Parties of Light Cavalry sweep the Plains of Leipzig.—All the intercepted letters describe the Councils of the King as distracted by conflicting opinions—always deliberating, never unanimous in decision. Incertitude, alarm, and terror, appear to have succeeded to arrogance, folly, and precipitation!—Yesterday, the 11th, in passing through Gera, where the 27th regiment of light infantry then lay, the Emperor charged the Colonel to testify his satisfaction at its admirable conduct.—In these various conflicts, we have not to regret the loss of any officer of rank. The highest was Captain Camporasso, of the 27th light infantry, a brave and loyal officer. We have had 40 killed and about 60 wounded.

Third Bulletin. Gerau, October 13, 1806.

The battle of Schleitz, with which the campaign opened, and which has been very fatal to the Prussians, and that of Saalfeld, which followed on the next day, have spread consternation among the enemy. All the intercepted letters say, there was much alarm at Erfurt, where the King, the Queen, the Duke of Brunswick, &c. were

consulting upon the measures that should be taken, without being able to agree.—But while they are deliberating, the French army continues its march. To this spirit of effervescent and excessive boasting, critical observations begin to succeed upon the inutility of the war; the injustice of breaking with France; the impossibility of being assisted; the disaffection of the soldiery upon what they have not done; together with a thousand other observations which are always in the mouths of the multitude, when princes are weak enough to consult them upon matters of great political interest, which are above their reach.—However, on the evening of the 12th, the scouts of the French army were at Leipsic; the headquarters of the Grand Duke of Berg are between Zeist and Leipsic; those of the Prince of Ponte Corvo at Zeist; the imperial headquarters, with the imperial guards and the corps of the army under Marshal Soult, are at Gerau; Marshal Ney's corps is at Neustadt. In the first line is the corps of the army under Marshal Davoust at Naumburg; that of Marshal Lannes is at Jena.—Marshal Angereau at Kala. Prince Jerome, to whom the Emperor had confided the command of the allies, and of a corps of Bavarians, has arrived at Schleitz, after having blockaded the fort of Culenbach with one of his regiments.—The enemy, cut off from Dresden, was still at Erfurt on the 11th, and endeavouring to collect his columns that he had sent towards Cassel and Wurtzburg, to act upon the offensive, wishing to open the campaign by an invasion of Germany. The Weser, upon which the enemy had raised batteries, the Saal, which he also made a shew of defending, and the other rivers, are all turned much in the same manner as was practised upon the Iller last year; so that the French army line the Banks of the Saal, with their rear towards the Elbe, at the same time they are marching against the Prussian army, which has its rear towards the Rhine; a position so whimsical, cannot fail in producing events of great importance.—The weather, since we commenced the present campaign, has been excellent, the country plentiful, and the soldiers full of vigour and health. We make marches of ten leagues without having a single straggler; and never was the army in a finer condition. However, the King of Prussia's intentions have been carried into effect: he wished that the French army should evacuate the territory of the confederation on the 8th of October, and they have evacuated it, but instead of repassing the Rhine, they have passed the Saal.

Fourth Bulletin. Gerau, Oct. 13, ten in the Morning.

Events succeed each other with rapidity. The Prussian army is taken by surprise, its magazines carried off, and it is turned. Marshal Davoust arrived at Naumburg on the 12th, at nine in the evening, where he seized the magazines of the enemy, made some prisoners, and got possession of a superb train of 18 copper pontoons with their appendages.—It appears that the Prussian army is marching to gain Magdebourg; but the French army has gained three marches upon them. The anniversary of the affair at Ulm, will be celebrated in the history of France.—The letter annexed, which has been intercepted, will inform you of the real state of the public mind; but the battle of which the Prussian officer speaks, will take place in the course of a few days, and the result of it will determine the fate of the war. The French should have no uneasiness respecting the result.

Proclamation of the Emperor Napoleon to his Army.

Soldiers,—The arrangements for your return to France were made; already were you drawn nearer to your frontiers; triumphal festivals awaited you, and every preparation was made in the capital for your reception; but while you were retiring with so much confidence, new plots were in contrivance under the mask of friendship and union. The cry of war was resounded in Berlin; for two months have we every day received more provocation. The same faction, the same spirit of destruction, which fourteen years ago brought the Prussians into the Plains of Champaign, in the opportunity afforded by our divisions, animates and guides their councils. If it be no longer Paris that they want to burn and destroy from roof to foundation, it is the capital of our allies in the midst of which they intend to plant their standards; it is Saxony, whom they have forced, by a disgraceful treaty to renounce her independence, and of which they purpose to make one of their provinces; it is in short your laurels that they wish to tear away from your brows. Shall we draw away our troops from Germany? The senseless beings! Let them know, that it is easier to ravage the capital than to tarnish the honour of the children of the great nation and of her allies. Their plans were then circumvented: they found in the plains of Champaign their defeat, death and shame; but the lesson of experience is useless, and there are men in whom the sense of hatred and envy never is extinguished.—Soldiers!

There is not one of you that would return into France by any other road but the road of honour? It is only under an arch of triumph that you should return. What! have we braved the seasons, the seas, and the deserts; have we triumphed over Europe leagued against us; have we borne our glory, from Orient to the Setting Sun, only to abandon our vallies, to return to France like runaways, and to hear it said that the Eagle of France was seized with dread at the sight of the Eagle of Prussia? But they are already in presence of our advanced guards. We will march, because moderation cannot calm such inconceivable pride. Let the Prussian army have again the fate it met with fourteen years back. Let it know, that it is easy to increase territory and power by the friendship of the great nation; but that her enmity, which, without renouncing every degree of wisdom and reason, cannot be provoked, is more terrible than the tempests of the ocean.—*Done at our head-quarters, in Bamberg, 6th Oct. 1806.* (Signed) NAPOLEON. The Major-General PRINCE OF NEUFCHATEL and VALENGIN. (Signed) MARSHAL BERTHIER.

The Emperor Napoleon's Appeal to the Saxons.

Saxons! The Prussians have overrun your territory. I enter it as your deliverer. They have forcibly broken the connections which united your troops, and have joined them to their own army. You are called upon to shed your blood for an interest to which you are not only strangers, but which is even in opposition to your interests.—My army was upon the point of evacuating Germany, when your territory was violated: it shall return to France as soon as Prussia has acknowledged your independence, and renounced the execution of the plan which she had formed against you.—Saxons, your prince had, till that moment, refused to enter into an alliance so opposite to his duties; if he has since consented to the conditions imposed upon him, it has only been in consequence of being compelled to it by the irruption of the Prussians.—I was deaf to the idle provocation which the Prussians offered against my people. I was deaf to them so long as their armaments were confined to the Prussian States, and my minister did not quit Berlin till your territory had been violated.—Saxons, your destiny is in your own hands! Will you remain undetermined between those who would bring you under the yoke, and those who would defend you? My victories shall secure the existence and the independence of your prince, and your nation.

The conquests of the Prussians will only rivet your chains. But what do I say? Have they not already tried every experiment? Have they not, for a long time past, used every effort to compel your prince to acknowledge a sovereignty, which, once directly imposed upon you, would erase you from the list of nations?—Your independence, your constitution, your liberty, would then only exist in the pages of memory; and the shades of your forefathers, those valiant Saxons, would disdain you for suffering yourselves to be reduced to slavery without resistance; a slavery prepared for you so long beforehand; and thus becoming witnesses of the degradation of your country into a Prussian province.—*Given at our head-quarters at Ebersdorff, Oct. 11, 1806.* NAPOLEON.

Sixth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Weimar, Oct. 15, 1806, evening.—Six thousand Saxons and above three hundred officers are taken. The Emperor assembled the officers, and told them, that it was with reluctance he had made war with them; that he had only taken up arms in the design of preserving the independence of the Saxon nation, and to prevent it from being incorporated with the Prussian monarchy; that his intention was to send them all home, if they would give him their parole never to serve against France; that their sovereign, whose good qualities he was well acquainted with, had been too weak to retire before the Prussians, and leave his country at their mercy, that all these doings must come to an end; that the Prussians must confine themselves to Prussia, and in no respect meddle with the affairs of Germany; that it behoved the Saxons to unite themselves with the Confederation of the Rhine, under the protection of France, a protection that it was not the first time they had enjoyed, seeing, that for the space of two centuries they were ever in danger, and must have been overpowered by Austria or Prussia, had it not been, that they were prevented by France; that the Emperor did not seize his arms before the Prussians had made themselves masters of Saxony; that these acts of violence were to be followed up; that the Continent had need of rest; and that, in spite of low passions and stratagems, set in motion by different courts, tranquillity must be secured, although the fall of some thrones should pave the way.—The Saxon prisoners have been all sent home, with a proclamation from the Emperor to the people of Saxony, and with assurances, that they were not considered as enemies.

Declaration of the Saxon Officers.

We, the undersigned generals, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and other officers of the Saxon army, swear by our word of honour not to bear arms against his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his allies, and we make the same oath, and give the same pledge, in the name of all the prisoners of war, taken with ourselves, and mentioned in the list of non-commissioned officers and soldiers underneath; and that we will not break the said obligation, unless in the event of receiving to that effect positive orders from our Sovereign the Elector of Saxony. *Jena, Oct. 15, 1806.*

Seventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Weimar, Oct. 16, 1806.—On the 15th in the morning the Grand Duke of Berg invested Erfurth. On the 16th the place surrendered by capitulation. In it were found 14,000 men, among them are 3000 wounded, and 6000 able to bear arms. They are prisoners of war, together with the Prince of Orange, Field-Marshal Mollendorff, Lieutenant-General Larisch, Lieutenant-General Graver, Major-Generals Lessare and Zweissel. A park of 120 pieces of cannon, with all the requisite implements and ammunition, is fallen into our hands. Prisoners are daily brought in.—The King of Prussia has sent an aide-du-camp to the Emperor, with an answer to the letter which his Imperial Majesty wrote to him before the battle: however, it is only now that the answer has been received. The reply of the Emperor Napoleon is the same as that which he returned to the Emperor of Russia before the battle of Austerlitz. He says to the King of Prussia—‘The success of my arms is not doubtful. Your troops shall be beaten; but it will cost me the blood of my children. If that can be spared by any arrangement consistent with the dignity of my crown, I will do all that may depend upon me to spare blood so precious. Nothing is so dear in my eyes as the blood of my soldiers, except honour.’—It appears that the remains of the Prussian army are falling back upon Magdeburgh. Of this fine and numerous army, there are now no more to be seen but such parties as have been cut off from the rest.

Capitulation of the City and Citadel of Erfurth, concluded between Colonel Preval, one of the Commandants of the Legion of Honour, fully empowered by his Serene Highness Prince Joachim, Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves, Lieutenant of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of

Italy, on the one side; and Major Pruescheneck, Commandant of the City and Citadel of Erfurth, and Fort Cyriachburg, for his Prussian Majesty, on the other.

Art. I. The garrison shall march out on the 17th with the honours of war, arms, effects, and baggage, battalion-field pieces, field batteries, field baking apparatus, and camp train. They shall proceed with drums beating, colours flying, and matches lighted, to Halle, the nearest city of his Majesty the King of Prussia.—Answer. The gates shall be this moment taken possession of by the troops of his Majesty the Emperor and King. Tomorrow, the 16th of October, at noon, the garrison, with arms, baggage, flying colours, and field pieces, shall march out. They shall lay down their arms upon the Glacis of the Fortress, and be considered prisoners of war. The officers shall keep their swords and equipage. They shall return to Prussia, upon their word of honour, not to serve until exchanged. The means of conveying their persons and effects shall be furnished them, to the effect that they may there arrive without disappointment, obstacle, or delay.—Art. II. The officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who are wounded, and in the place, shall be included in the foregoing article. Those who are in a state to be removed shall follow the garrison immediately; and those who are not in a state to undertake the journey, shall remain at the charge of his Prussian Majesty, and shall be taken care of by persons employed in his service; and as soon as they are cured, or in a state of convalescence, they shall be forwarded to their respective corps; and to this effect the necessary passports shall be given.—Answer. The officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who are wounded, shall be included in the above-mentioned article; and they may be left to the French spirit of honour, which is sufficiently known.—Art. III. To-morrow, at twelve o'clock, the gate of St. John shall be delivered up, to be taken possession of from the outside. The Prussian guard shall keep their posts within, so long as the Prussian garrison shall remain in the place; and it shall be permitted to no one to come in, except the commissioners named for the surrender of the place.—Answer. Included in the first article.—Art. IV. Should, contrary to the tenor of the above article, any non-commissioned officers or soldiers come in to the city, they shall be immediately seized, and delivered over to the guard on the outer post. In like manner, no military person belonging to the garrison shall go out of the

place, so long as the garrison remains, excepting only the officers who may be dispatched to the French head-quarters.—Answer. Included in the first article.—Art. V. On both sides commissioners shall be appointed. They shall concert measures, from this moment, that the French guard shall take possession of St. John's gate, and they shall follow up their duty until the departure of the garrison. At the appointed time, the necessary passports shall be given to the Prussian commissaries, for the return of the states of his Prussian Majesty.—Answer. The commissaries shall hold themselves in readiness by to-morrow morning, the 16th October, to attend to the surrender of the artillery and magazines, the passports for the return shall be delivered to the commissaries of his Majesty the King of Prussia.—Art. VI. Private property shall be respected, and taken under the protection of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and King of Italy.—Answer. Property shall be respected.—Art. VII. The property belonging to individuals of this garrison, which cannot be immediately removed, shall be preserved during the space of three months, reckoning from the date of the capitulation, so that the aforesaid persons may cause their property to be recovered, without any obstruction or difficulty.—Answer. To be interpreted according to the first article; the soldiers alone shall be obliged to take their baggage with them.—Art. VIII. From the moment this capitulation comes into effect, a Prussian officer shall be sent to his Majesty the King of Prussia, to lay the same before him.—Granted.—Art. VIII. The field-equipage belonging to his Prussian Majesty, which may be yet in Erfurth, shall be sent under escort of the Prussian troops to some of his Majesty's cities.—Answer. This article shall be laid before his Royal Highness the Grand Duke Prince Joachim of Cleves and Berg.—In this capitulation shall be included the superior officers, who are, or of whom there is intelligence in the garrison.—(Signed) CHARLES VON PRUESCHENECK, HYPOLITE PREVAL.—Erfurth, 15th October, 1806. Eleven o'clock in the evening.

Eighth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Weimar, Oct. 16, evening.—The different corps of the army that follow the enemy, send every moment accounts of the capture of prisoners, baggage, artillery, magazines, and military appurtenances of every description. Marshal Davoust has made himself master of 30 pieces of cannon; Marshal Soult of a convoy of 3000 measures of flour; Marshal Bernadotte of 1500 prisoners. The

enemy's army is so scattered in the direction of ours, that a battalion of theirs entered one of our night camps, having mistaken it for one of their own.—The King of Prussia strives to reach Magdeburg. Marshal Mollendorff lies dangerously ill of his wounds at Erfurth. The Grand Duke of Berg has sent him his physician.—Brigadier-General Durosnel has had an obstinate affair with the 7th and 20th regiments of chasseurs, which terminated much to their honour.—The Major of the 20th has particularly distinguished himself.—Brigadier-General Colbert, at the head of the 30th hussars, and 12th chasseurs, made several successful charges upon the enemy's infantry.

Ninth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Weimar, Oct. 17.—The garrison of Erfurth has marched out, and is more numerous than was at first thought. There is a number of magazines in the place. The Emperor has named General Clarke Governor of the City and Citadel of Erfurth, and the neighbouring country.—The citadel of Erfurth is a fine one, with bulwarks and casements, and provided with every means and provision for a defence. This is an important acquisition, and may serve as a centre point for furthering our operations. In the 5th bulletin, it is said, that we had taken from 25 to 30 stands of colours. There are already 45 at head-quarters, and probably there are more than 60 taken. They are the colours which Frederic the Great presented to his soldiers. The colours of the Queen, ornamented with her own hands, are among the number. It appears that the enemy (Prussians) wishes to collect his force at Magdeburgh, whither we are, however, marching from all points. The several corps of the army are in pursuit of him by different ways. Every moment arrive couriers with tidings of the surrender of whole battalions, with their arms, artillery, baggage, &c.

Tenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Naumbourg, Oct. 18.—Among the sixty stand of colours that were taken at the battle of Jena, are found several belonging to the King of Prussia's guards, and one belonging to the body guards, upon which the inscription is written in French.—The King of Prussia has demanded an armistice for six weeks. The Emperor answered, that it was impossible after a victory to give the enemy time to rally. The Prussians, however, have so industriously spread the report, that a great many of our Generals having met them, were made to believe that this armis-

tice was actually concluded. Marshal Soult, on the 16th, arrived at Grenchen, in pursuit of the column where the King was, which is estimated at ten or twelve thousand men. General Kalkreuth, who commanded it, caused it to be notified to Marshal Soult, that an armistice had been concluded. The Marshal replied, that it was impossible that the Emperor should have committed that error; and that he would give credit to the armistice when it should be announced to him officially. General Kalkreuth testified a desire to see Marshal Soult, who went to the advanced post:—"What would you have of us (said the Prussian General to him); the Duke of Brunswick is dead; all our Generals are killed, wounded, or taken; the greatest part of our army is put to flight; your success has been sufficiently great; the King has demanded a suspension of arms; it is impossible that your Emperor should not grant it." "General (answered Marshal Soult), we have for a long time been thus dealt with. People appeal to our generosity when they are vanquished, and forget, the moment after, the magnanimity which we have been accustomed to shew. After the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor granted an armistice to the Russian army: this armistice saved the army. Observe the unworthy manner in which the Russians have now acted. It is said that they wish to return: we burn with impatience to meet them again. If there had been as much generosity among them as among us, they would have left us to remain in peace at last, after the moderation which we have shewn in the midst of victory. We have in no way provoked the unjust war which you wage against us. You have declared it wantonly. The battle of Jena has decided the fortune of the campaign. Our business is to do you all the injury we can. Lay down your arms, and I shall wait in this situation for the orders of the Emperor." The old General Kalkreuth saw well that he had nothing to say in reply. The two Generals separated, and hostilities recommenced the moment after. The village of Grenchen was taken, and the enemy routed and pursued with the sword at their backs.—The grand Duke of Berg, and Marshals Soult and Ney should, in the marches of the 17th and 18th, reunite by combined movements, and crush the enemy.—They will, without doubt, have seen a considerable number of fugitives—the plains are covered with them, and their routs are encumbered with carriages and baggage of every sort.—Never was there a greater victory signalized by greater disasters. The reserve commanded by Prince Eugene of Wirtem-

berg, is arrived at Hall. We are still only at the ninth day of the campaign, and already the enemy is obliged to carry forward his last resource.—The Emperor marches towards it. It will be attacked to-morrow if it remains in its position at Hall.—Marshal Davoust is gone this day to take possession of Leipsic, and throw a bridge over the Elbe. The Imperial Horse Guards have at length joined us. Independently of considerable magazines found at Naumbourg, a greater number have been found at Weissenfels. The general in Chief Ruchel, has been found in a village mortally wounded. Marshal Soult has sent him his surgeon. It appears as if it were a decree of Providence that all those who have pushed forward this war should be cut off by the first blows that were struck.

Eleventh Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Mersebourg, Oct. 19.—The number of prisoners that have been made at Erfurth, is more considerable than one would have believed. The passports given to officers who are to return home on parole, in virtue of one of the articles of capitulation amount to six hundred.—The corps of Marshal Davoust took possession of Leipsic on the 18th.—The Prince of Ponte-Corvo, who was, on the 17th, at Eisleben, to cut off some Prussian columns, having learnt that the reserve of his Majesty the King of Prussia, commanded by Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg, had arrived at Hall, marched thither. After having made his dispositions, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo caused Hall to be attacked by General Dupont, and placed the division of Drouet in reserve, on his left: the 32d and 9th regiments of light infantry passed the three bridges at the charging pace, and entered the city, supported by the 96th. In less than an hour the enemy was completely routed. The 2d and 4th regiments of hussars, and the whole division of General Rivant, traversed the city, and chased the enemy from Fienitz, from Peissen, and from Nabatz. The Prussian cavalry endeavoured to charge the 8th and 96th regiments of infantry, but were gallantly received and repulsed.—The reserve of the Prince of Wurtemberg was most completely routed and pursued for the space of four leagues.—The results of this combat, which merit a particular and careful detail, are 5000 prisoners, of whom two are Generals, and three Colonels, four stand of colours, and 34 pieces of cannon. General Dupont conducted himself in the most distinguished manner. The General of Division Rouyer, had a horse killed under him. The General of Division Drouet, has taken the whole of the regiment of Freskow. On our side the

loss does not amount to more than 40 men killed, 200 wounded. The Colonel of the 9th regiment of light infantry has been wounded. General Leopold Berthier, Chief of the Staff of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, has behaved in a distinguished manner. By the result of the combat of Halle, there are no more of the enemy's troops that have not suffered.—The Prussian General Blucher, with 5000 men, has passed through the division of Dragoons of General Klein, which had intercepted him. Having alledged to General Klein that an armistice had been concluded for six weeks, that General had the simplicity to believe him.—Montesgnion, the Orderly Officer near the person of the Emperor, who had been sent with a flag of truce to the King of Prussia the evening before the battle, is returned. He has been carried along for several days with the flying enemy. He pictures the disorder of the Prussian army as inexpressible. Nevertheless, on the eve of the battle their boasting was unequalled.—The question was about nothing less than to cut off the French army, and take from it columns of 40,000 men. The Prussian Generals acted, as much as they could, the manners of Frederick the Great. Although we were in the country, the Generals appeared to be in the most complete ignorance of our movements. They believed that on the little plain of Jena there were no more than 4000 men, and that too when the greatest part of the army had spread over that plain.—The enemy's army retreats in considerable force upon Magdebourg. It is probable that several columns will be intercepted before it arrives here.—No news have been received for several days from Marshal Soult, who has been detached with 40,000 men to pursue the enemy's army.—The Emperor has crossed the field of the battle of Rosbach. He has ordered that the pillar which had been erected there should be transported to Paris. The head-quarters of the Emperor were on the 18th at Mersebourg. On the 19th he will be at Halle. Very considerable magazines of every kind have been found in the latter city.

Twelfth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Hall, Oct. 19.—Marshal Soult has pursued the enemy even to the gates of Magdebourg. Several times the Prussians endeavoured to take a position, and were always routed. Considerable magazines have been found at Nordhausen, and also a waggon of the King of Prussia, filled with silver.—During the five days that Marshall Soult

has been employed in the pursuit of the enemy, he has made 1,200 prisoners, and taken 30 pieces of cannon, and from 2 to 300 waggons.—The first object of the campaign has been accomplished. Saxony, Westphalia, and all the countries on the left bank of the Elbe, are relieved from the presence of the Prussian army. That army, beaten and pursued with the sword at its back for more than 50 leagues, is at this day without artillery, without baggage, without officers, reduced below a 2d of what it was eight days ago, and, what is still worse than that, it has lost its distinguishing character, and all confidence in itself. Two corps of the French army are on the Elbe, occupied in constructing bridges. The head quarters are at Hall.

Thirteenth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Halle, Oct. 20.—General Macon, commandant at Leipzig has made to the bankers, merchants, and traders of that city the subjoined notification. Since the tyrant of the seas will not respect any flag, it is the intention of the Emperor to seize every where their merchandize, and strictly to block them up in their island. There were found in the military magazines of Leipzig 15,000 quintals of meal and a great quantity of other species of provisions.—The Grand Duke of Berg arrived at Halberstadt on the 19th. On the 20th he inundated the whole plain of Magdebourg with his cavalry, even to the mouth of the cannon. The enemy's troops, consisting of isolated detachments, were taken at the moment they were endeavouring to enter the place. A regiment of the enemy's hussars, believing that Halberstadt was still occupied by Prussians, were charged by the 22d hussars, and lost 300 men.—General Beaumont has taken 600 men of the king's guard and all the equipage of that corps. Two hours before, two companies of the royal foot-guards were taken by Marshal Soult. Lieutenant-General Count de Schmettau, who had been taken prisoner, has died at Wiemar.—Thus of the superb army, which a few days since threatened to invade the confederation of the Rhine, and which inspired its sovereign with such confidence, that he dared to order the Emperor Napoleon to quit Germany before the 8th of October, if he did not wish to be constrained by force—of this superb army, we say there remains nothing but the wreck, an unformed chaos which merits rather the name of a mob than that of an army. *To be continued.*